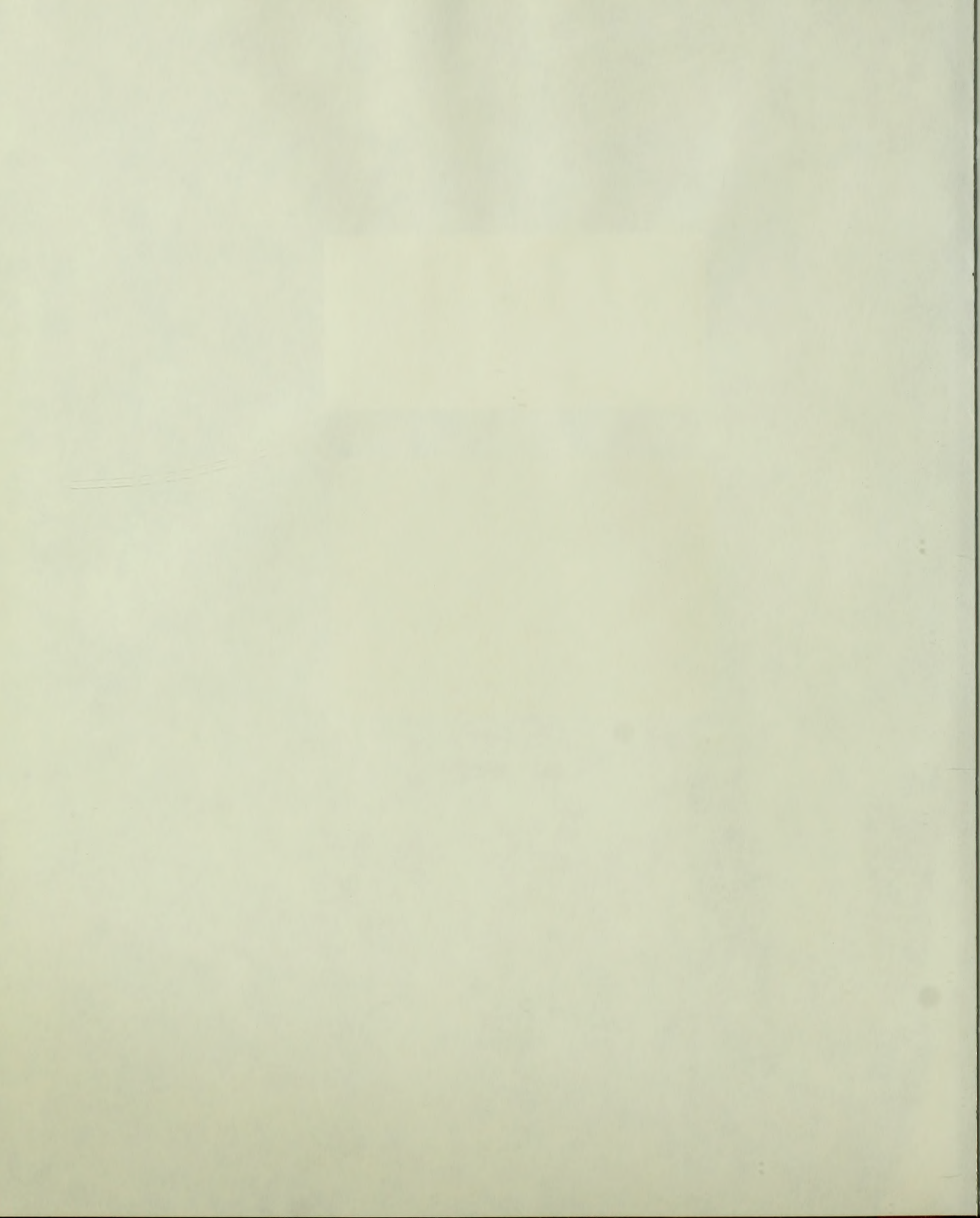


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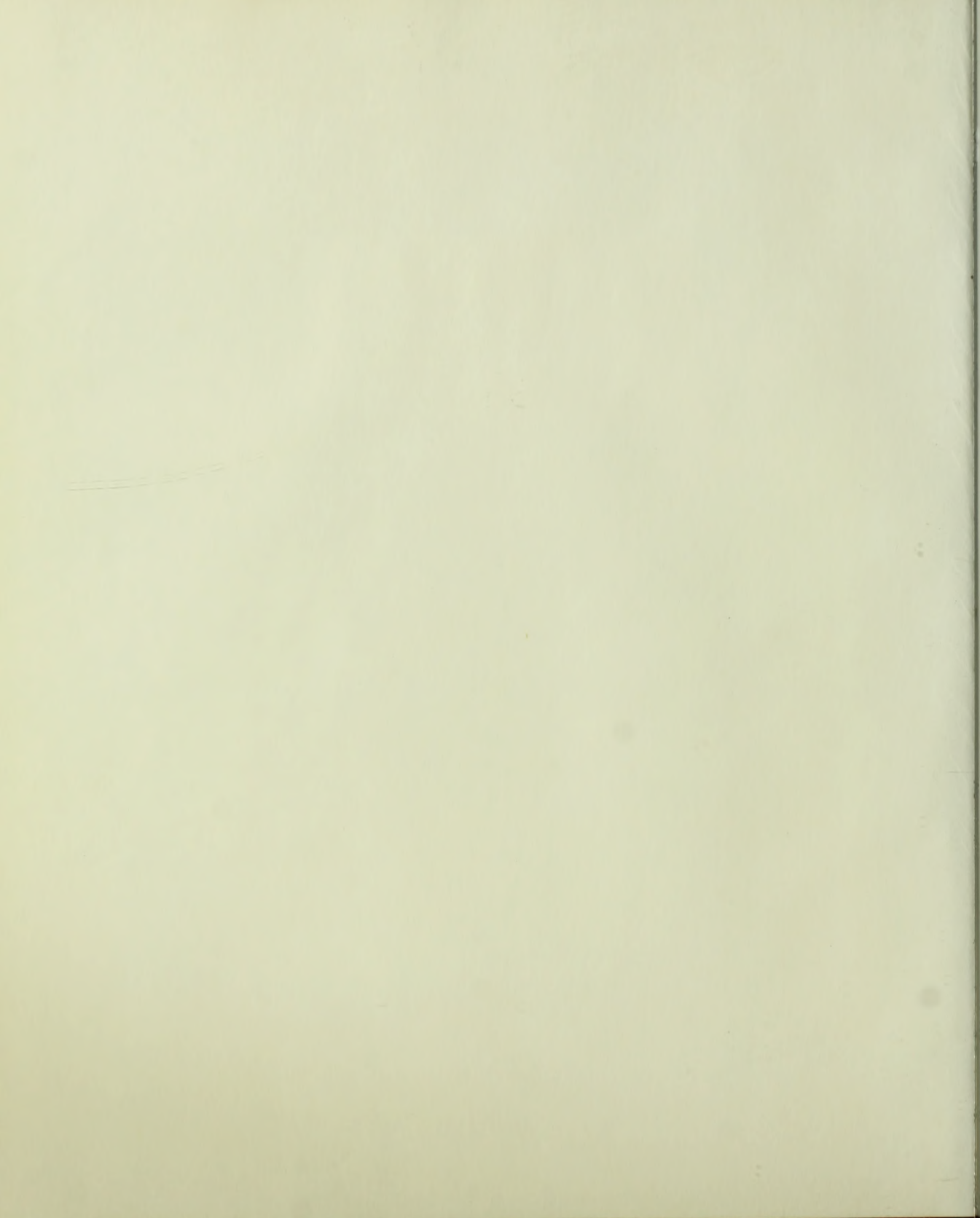
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California History

VOLUME LIX 1980

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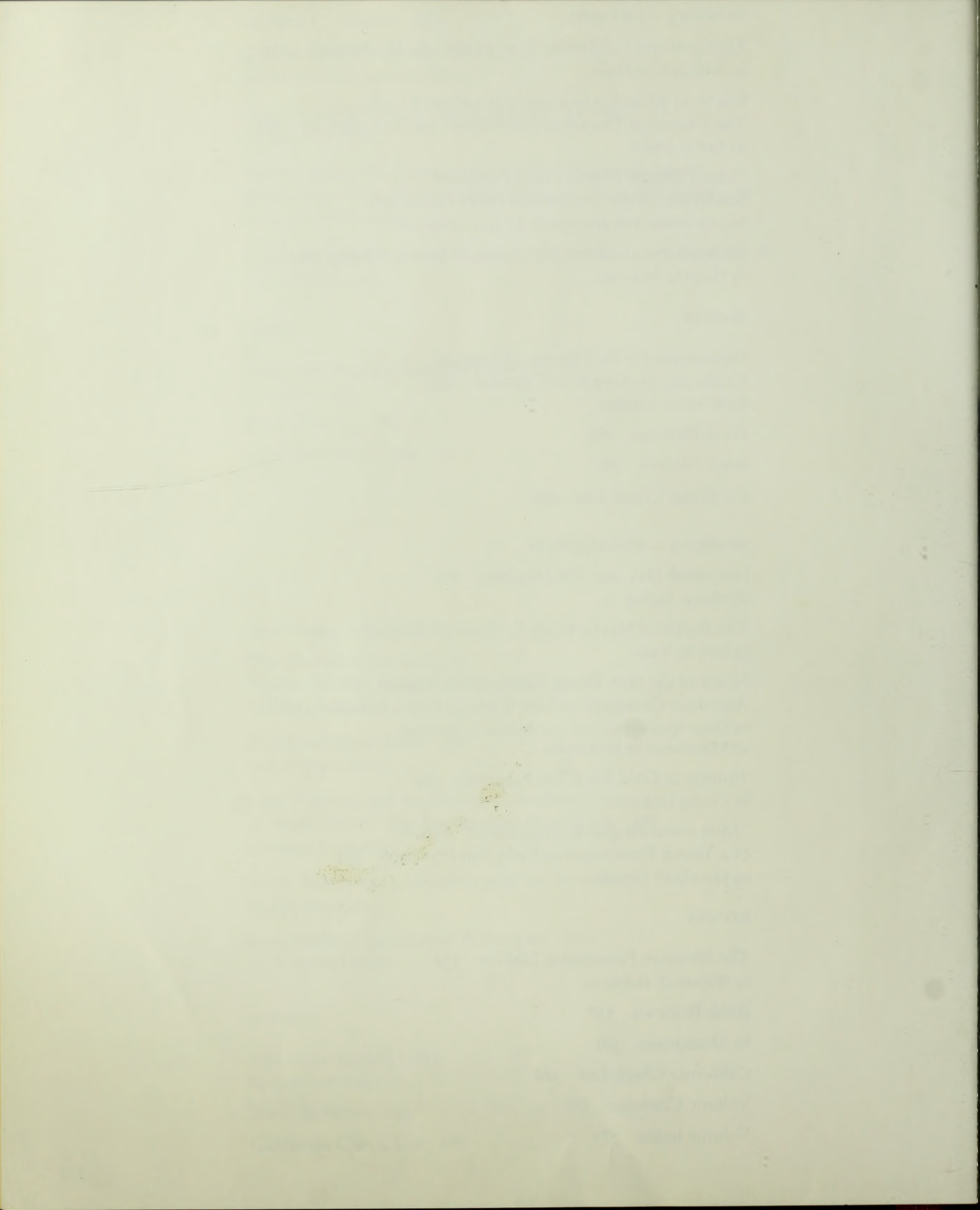
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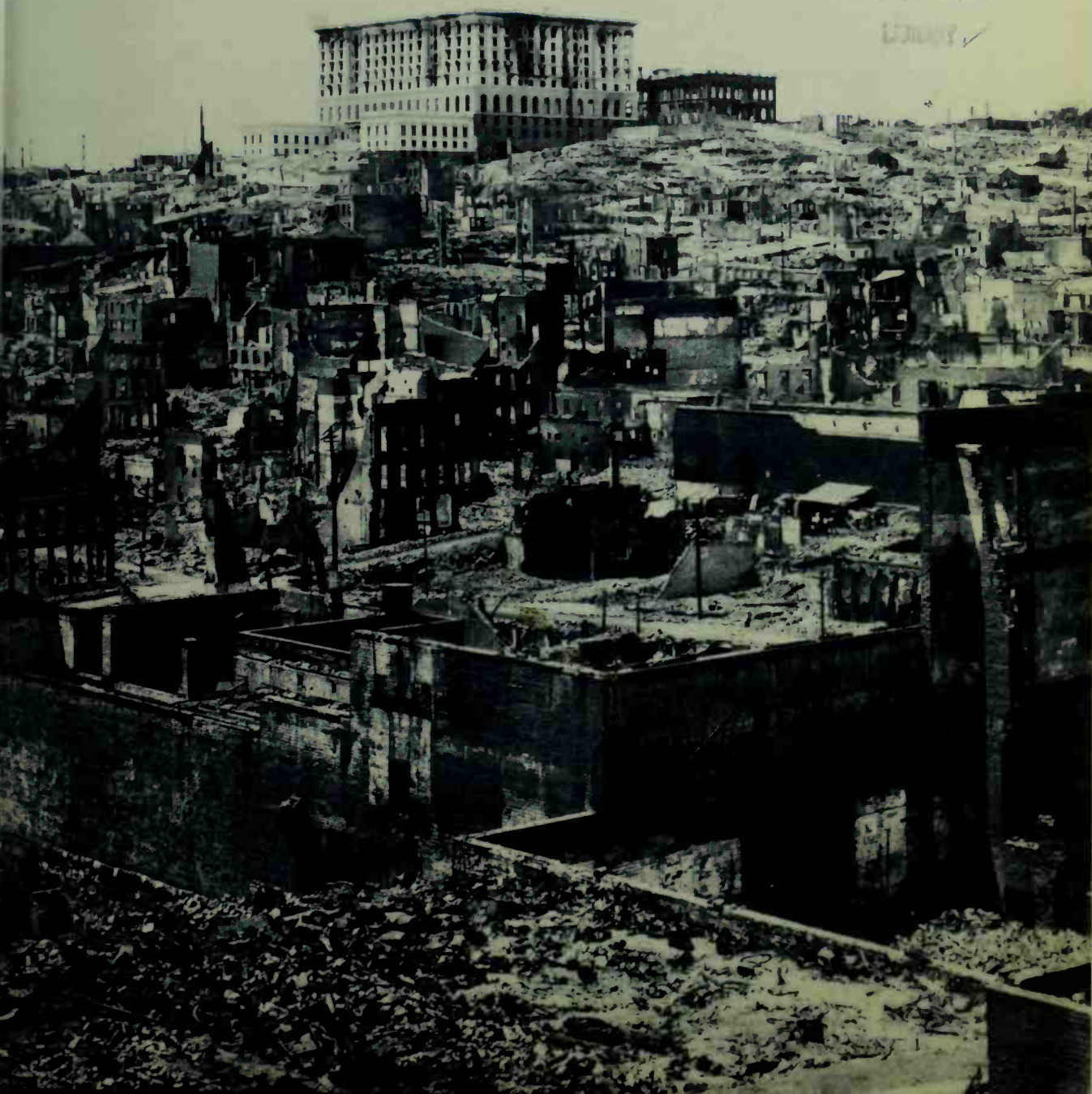
California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

spring 1980

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COVER

The "Sentinel of Nob Hill" is what newspapers called the unfinished Fairmont Hotel following the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906. One individual wrote "No matter in what portion of the City a person is, the Fairmont is to be seen. It stands upon a hill and is in the heart of the burnt district." For more accounts and photos of this history making event please turn to page 34.

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JAMES E. MOSS
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Left to right, Josefa, Ignacio, Jr., Ysabel, Reginaldo and Ulipano del Valle, c. 1875.

The del Valle Family and the Fantasy Heritage

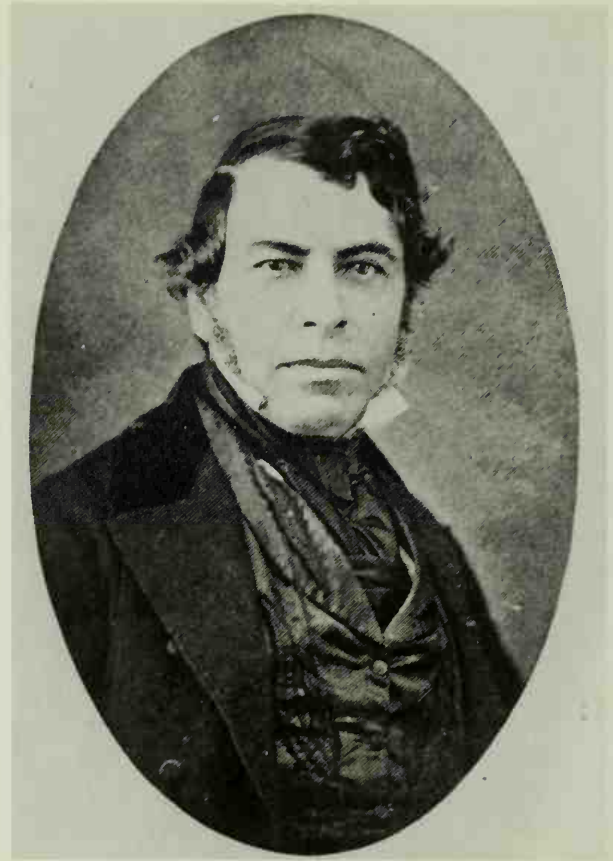
In 1949 Carey McWilliams first used the term "Fantasy Heritage" to describe the Anglo-American's propensity to romanticize and mythify the white European, Spanish presence in the American Southwest.¹ McWilliams felt that the most damaging consequence of this heritage had been to rob the mestizos and Indians of their rightful historical importance. He wrote, "Los Angeles is merely one of many cities in the borderlands which has fed itself on a false mythology for so long that it has become a well-fattened paradox".² He cited as examples of this paradox numerous civic celebrations where Anglo-Americans eagerly identified with a pseudo-Spanish past while ignoring the Mexican-American barrios and colonias in their midst.

The blame for the creation of the Fantasy Heritage can be equally distributed among historians, novelists, real estate promoters, politicians and journalists. Less well understood is the role that the Californio landed classes and their descendants played in the development of this myth. The Californios were wealthy families who had been given large grants of land by the Spanish and Mexican governments. They considered themselves "Spanish" but in reality they were almost all mestizos, having a mixed cultural and racial heritage.³ Under the Americans they lost their lands to lawyers, squatters and tax collectors. This article is about one Californio family, the del Valles, owners of Rancho Camulos and the role they played in popularizing a Fantasy Heritage in Southern California.

Nestled in the Santa Clara river valley near present day Oxnard and Ventura, Rancho Camulos in the 1880's, seemed to fit a romantic stereotype. Helen Hunt Jackson, the famous author of *Ramona*, visited this spot on January 23, 1883, at the suggestion of Antonio Coronel, an aging Los Angeles politico. He told Mrs. Jackson that the best example of early Californio life was to be found there. She stayed for about four hours and came away with enough impressions to accurately represent the ranch house and surrounding countryside in her novel. Later she wrote, "... it was a most interesting place, and the daughters, cousins and sons all as Mexican and un-American as heart could wish."⁴ None of the elder del Valles were home when Mrs. Jackson visited and so she probably saw mostly Indians, mestizos and dark skinned relatives of the family. In her notes she called these people "Mexicans", not Californios.

From Camulos Mrs. Jackson traveled to San Diego and, after a brief stay, to New York City where she wrote the book that she hoped would save the remaining California mission Indians from extinction. A year after the book appeared in 1884, she died of cancer and so did not live to witness its phenomenal success. *Ramona* eventually went

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through 135 editions, was published in most languages and served as an inspiration for at least four movies and numerous plays. In the early 1900's the Los Angeles Public Library had 29 copies of the book and a waiting list for readers.⁵

The novel and the romanticism it engendered is credited with awakening interest in things "Spanish" in southern California and, as a result, the novel played a part in preserving the Franciscan missions and countless historical landmarks of the Mexican era. All this, it seems, grew out of Mrs. Jackson's impressions of rancho life in the Santa Clara Valley. But how well did the myth square with the reality?

Camulos in 1883 was one of the few remaining ranchos still owned and operated by native Californios. In 1930 the eldest son of the family, Reginaldo del Valle, wrote a history of his family's homestead.⁶ Reginaldo's great grandfather, Antonio, had gotten the original grant of 11 square leagues from the Mexican government in 1839. He called it Rancho San Francisco. Reginaldo remembered that the mission Indians at the time protested the grant fearing bad treatment from their new master. After Antonio's death in 1841 the government divided the rancho among the heirs. Reginaldo's father Ygnacio got an 1800 acre parcel and called it Rancho Camulos. In his history Reginaldo neglected to mention that Pedro Carillo contested Rancho San Francisco's partition in 1841. Carillo filed an application for a portion of the grant with governor Alvarado. A year later governor Micheltorena ruled in Carillo's favor. The del Valles faced a loss of over 17,000 acres when the Mexican War broke out in 1846. A final settlement favoring the del Valles came in 1855 by the action of the California Board of Land Commissioners.⁷

Reginaldo's history of Camulos mentioned quaint and romantic details: the custom of burying a dead Indian child in the walls; a description of the family chapel furnished with bells from San Fernando

Mission and vestments given by Bishop Mora; an account of how the first gold in California was discovered on the rancho in 1842; and most of all, remembrances of his mother as a self sacrificing, spiritual advisor to the Indians. Missing from Reginaldo's history was how the family had managed to hold on to Camulos despite droughts, falling cattle prices, shyster lawyers, ruinous taxes, prejudicial laws and greedy Anglos. Perhaps this was because the Camulos that Helen Hunt Jackson visited in 1883 and the Camulos that Reginaldo remembered in 1930 was in reality the creation of the American era. It bore little resemblance to the arcadian eden of pre-conquest California.

The del Valle family survived the economic disasters that wiped out other Californio rancheros by selling off portions of their land and by converting the rancho from cattle and sheep production to intensive industrial farming and viticulture. Before the Anglo conquest Ygnacio del Valle had acquired Ran-

cho El Tejon, and in 1857 he bought Rancho Temescal for \$4,000. Through the years the gradual sale of these two ranchos and portions of the Camulos rancho furnished the needed capital to pay off the numerous mortgages Ygnacio contracted during the 1860s and 1870s.

In 1930 Reginaldo remembered that the original partition of Camulos had been for 1800 acres. Actually this had dwindled to 1340 acres by 1886.⁸ As the del Valles sold portions of their rancho to stay solvent, the amazing thing was that Reginaldo and the family were not bitter about the erosion of their landed heritage. An explanation for this was that they were whole heartedly committed to finance capitalism and the new commercial ethic. Reginaldo was a lawyer and a well known politician with many Anglo-American friends. The del Valle children who married, all married Anglo-Americans. The family perhaps felt that it was receiving psychic income from Reginaldo's political prominence and the fame generated by Helen Hunt Jackson and later by Charles Fletcher Lummis. More than this Reginaldo and his family really respected and admired the capitalists who bought portions of their ranch, Henry Newhall and William Wolfskill; and the land was appreciating in value at a fantastic rate.

Much has been made about the "typically Spanish" architecture of the Camulos adobe — a style that has inspired imitators among real estate subdividers and land speculators down through the decades. Actually 16 of the 20 rooms of the adobe home were built after 1850.⁹ A demand for cattle in the gold fields of the north made possible the wealth that financed construction. This prosperity came to an abrupt halt in 1863 when a drought almost wiped them out. In a letter to Joseph Lancaster Brent, a long time friend of the family, Ygnacio reported that he had lost about half of his herd and that he had had to sell portions of his interests in Rancho San Francisco for \$21,000.¹⁰

He sold these lands to a San Francisco based petroleum company with the hope that their exploratory wells would come in and raise the value of the remainder of his land. In his letter to Brent, he didn't mention that his property taxes had risen 200 percent or that he had had to slaughter all his sheep to keep them from suffering.

The disasters of 1862-1863 spelled an end to the Californio owned cattle industry. Seeing that this was so, Ygnacio turned to citrus agriculture, one of the first to do so in Ventura County. He borrowed large sums to invest in fruit and nut trees and wine grapes.¹¹ To supplement income while waiting for full production he leased out grazing lands to local ranchers. Nevertheless, expenses constantly outran income and Ygnacio took out a series of mortgages to remain solvent, one to Newhall in 1876 for \$10,000 at 3 percent a year and another, a few years later, for \$15,776 at 6 percent per year.¹²

There were many expenses. Besides the extended family of legitimate and adopted children, aunts and uncles that numbered 20 persons, almost 200 Indians and Mexicans lived on the rancho. Ygnacio believed in parochial education and at considerable expense he sent all of his children to high schools in Santa Barbara and Los Angeles. His sons, Reginaldo and Ulipano, both attended Santa Clara College. Reginaldo studied several years in San Francisco to become a lawyer. Later, when Reginaldo ran for his first political office, an assembly seat, the family borrowed \$2,000 at 6 percent to pay for his campaign. His later political career probably also put the family deeper into debt.

Despite these expenses and due to costly investments, Camulos became a show place of the new agricultural revolution that was beginning in California. Politicians and promoters began visiting the rancho to praise its productive capacity and beauty.

In 1875 the *Weekly Press* wrote, "The del Valle mansion is a long substantial adobe with wings enclosing three sides of a courtyard. To the rear is a large fountain in which there are many goldfish. Leading out of the gardens is an arbor of grape vines now heavily loaded with luscious fruit. In this garden we saw pomegranate and orange and lemon trees full of half ripe fruit and a tree which would have puzzled an expert to tell the variety, for it had apples, pears and quinces hanging from its limbs. In the large orchard are 4,000 almond trees . . . The improvements made by Don del Valle are one of a substantial character. His wine house, covering a cellar of the same dimensions, is 132 feet long and 36 feet wide, and is built of brick at a cost of \$10,000 and is furnished with all the modern improvements".¹³ Del Valle's winery produced 40,000 gallons a year and Camulos wines and brandies were well known throughout Southern California ten years before Helen Hunt Jackson arrived.

In 1877 two local Ventura politicians reported that "Comulos (*sic*) is evidently destined to become one of the leading health resorts of the state. It is easily reached in a very few hours from either the seaport at Ventura or the railroad at Newhall. The proprietor is thinking of erecting a commodious hotel for the accommodation (*sic*) of the many visitors who, hearing of the far famed orchards and vineyards, come daily to visit them."¹⁴

In 1878 Ygnacio retired and turned the management of the farm over to Joventino, Reginaldo's brother. Later in 1886 Ulipano, the other brother, took over. Ulipano got involved in raising race

horses. Supposedly he reinvested his winnings in the rancho but by 1900 he turned to raising mules.

The del Valles' success story was largely due to intelligent efficient management and luck. The luck was that Ygnacio had acquired enough land in flush times to pay for conversion of the cattle ranch to intensive agriculture. The del Valle brothers provided the efficient management. Reginaldo handled the family's legal and financial affairs. Ulipano and Joventino managed the wine and citrus industry.

Reginaldo, the eldest son, was the leader of the family after his father's retirement and death in 1892. He engaged in a variety of real estate and business ventures to supplement the family income. His legal maneuvers and political contacts undoubtedly helped. After he passed the bar exam in 1877, he bought Rancho Jamacha and Rancho de los Coches in San Diego.¹⁵ In 1886 he formed a partnership with Tom Temple, *La Crónica's* business manager, to form the California and Mexican Land Company. The main transaction of this firm seems to have been the marketing and selling of the family's Rancho Temescal for \$66,695.¹⁶ In 1908 Reginaldo set up a corporation to manage Rancho Camulos. Shares in the company were to be held in trust and income distributed to members of the family. The corporation hired a new manager when Ulipano moved away a short time later.¹⁷

The image of a group of well educated Californios managing the affairs of a middle sized agribusiness corporation hardly squares with the *Ramona* characterizations of the Californio culture. But then, the novel was not intended to accurately portray Californio life in the late nineteenth century. More important was the fact that readers of the book thought that it did. This proved to be a boon to real estate promoters during the 1880s.

At first the del Valles didn't like the book. In the novel Señora Moreno, the matriarch of the rancho,

*Reginaldo del Valle as
a young lawyer in his
late twenties.*



*A group of workers and their
families pose on the veranda
of the Camulos Adobe.*





was a haughty woman, cruel to the local Indians. The del Valles resented this characterization of their beloved mother, Isabel. Reginaldo del Valle was supposed to be Don Felipe, half brother to the half breed Ramona, and he must have been upset when Helen Hunt Jackson had him marrying the Indian girl at the end of the book.

Soon after the novel appeared, curious tourists began showing up at Camulos. Edward Roberts of the *San Francisco Chronicle* visited the rancho and quoted the del Valles as saying, “. . . Many who come here do not believe that we are not the ones they wish to see.”¹⁸ Tourists sometimes ran rampant over the grounds entering into the private rooms of the adobe demanding “Ramony, Ramony, where is Ramony.”¹⁹ By 1896 four passenger trains a day passed by Camulos and on February 12 one was delayed near the rancho for 20 minutes. The *Examiner*

reported, “. . . a mob of 300 of both sexes took advantage of the opportunity to raid the orchards as thoroughly and steal as many oranges as the time would permit, even invading the private grounds and apartments of the house.”²⁰ A few days later Ulipano published a notice prohibiting further tourists from entering the grounds. Reginaldo, who hadn’t lived there since 1877, was quick to see the possibility for profit. He told a *Ventura Free Press* reporter that he was going to build a 40 room Ramona Hotel overlooking the rancho. In 1887 Reginaldo appealed to his long time political enemy Charles Crocker to establish a Southern Pacific station house and appoint an agent at Camulos.²¹ The same year Reginaldo and a group of Californios met with a group of Anglo-Americans and founded the Ramona Parlor of the Native Sons of the Golden West, a fraternal organization dedicated to the “. . . perpetuation of the

A re-enactment of the first meeting of Ramona and Alessandro on the Camulos Rancho. The parts were played by residents of Camulos for the benefit of tourists.

romantic and patriotic past."²² One of their first items of business was to rename an old oak tree on the rancho, "The Oak of the Golden Dream."

As wave upon wave of tourists descended on Camulos, Reginaldo's mother continued to welcome all strangers, giving away food, souvenirs and often putting them up for the night. In one year she provided meals and lodging for about 2,500 people. Reginaldo finally had to instruct his mother to "... tell the tourists who come out of curiosity to see Ramona that we don't have a hotel and we can't put them up except in unusual circumstances."²³

The del Valle hospitality furnished good primary material for guidebooks and promoters who were enchanted with Spanish arcadia. In 1888 Walter Lindley wrote a detailed account of Camulos' annual Fourth of July fiesta. On this occasion the family celebrated a combined Mexican and American Independence day. The guests arrived by train. Señora del Valle welcomed them at the entrance to the garden. A servant showed them to their rooms to freshen up. Then lunch was announced where Senator del Valle presided. The meal consisted of roast pig, various "Spanish" dishes, chiles, olives, a dessert, claret and white wine and black coffee. The afternoon's program consisted of horseback riding, walking, hunting, singing, reading, mountain climbing or sleeping. They served dinner at 7:00 p.m. in the arbor brightly lit with lanterns. A roast kid meal and groaning board was preceded by a musical interlude with piano, organ and guitar with song. The day ended with a fireworks display.²⁴ The del Valles had

fiestas like this two or three times a year. They usually lasted from three to five days with as many as 100 guests arriving and departing by train.

After 1890 Camulos became less of a tourist attraction when a number of authorities on local history began to question whether Camulos and the del Valles were in fact the inspiration for the *Ramona* novel. The major competitor was San Diego. Fr. Antonio Ubach of Mission San Diego maintained that he had known Ramona personally and that she had been the child of a local Spanish grandee and "... one of the most intelligent mission Indians."²⁵ Fr. Ubach felt that Helen Hunt Jackson had omitted certain sordid details in the *Ramona* story. The San Diego Indians claimed Ramona as their own, wanting to get a piece of the Fantasy Heritage. Condido Hopkins, an Indian Service Chief of Police on the Cahuilla Indian reservation told reporters that Ramona was his mother. In the 1890s she frequently was an exhibition at the San Bernardino Orange Show.²⁶ Cave Coutts, a local San Diego rancher, held that Ramona was really a Temecula Indian girl he had known, named Matutini.²⁷ The Santa Fe Rail Road advertised that the rancho inspiring the novel was not Camulos, which was near the Southern Pacific Line, but Rancho Guajome, located four and one half miles from their tracks near Mission San Luis Rey and Oceanside. Mr. A. McWhirter, owner of the rancho, offered to conduct tours of Ramona's adobe for interested tourists.²⁸

Of course, the Ventura and Los Angeles county promoters preferred their version, Camulos was the site and Ramona was a composite character drawn from the real life stories of Blanca Yndart and an Indian girl Guadalupe. According to legend Blanca was an orphaned Spanish girl who had been given as a ward to Senora del Valle. Her mysterious father had entrusted a dowry to the safekeeping of the family. Secretly Isabel kept these "Ramona Jewels" under

her bed until Blanca got married. Guadalupe was a mission Indian also given to the del Valles by a Saboba Indian chief.²⁹ A variation of this theme was the opinion that *Ramona* had been inspired by a love affair between an American girl and a local Indian named Ramon Corrales. Forbidden to marry they had run off into the mountains where Ramon had been murdered for horse stealing.

In the spring of 1884 Charles Fletcher Lummis walked into Los Angeles after a cross country hike from Ohio, via the Southwest. He was to play a major role in developing the Fantasy Heritage beyond a sterile debate over places, names and dates. A Harvard educated son of a Methodist minister, he got a job with the *Los Angeles Times* and fell in love with the Californio past.³⁰ He became a good friend of the del Valles and entertained them frequently. When he discovered that Mission San Fernando was being used as a hog farm, he enlisted Reginaldo and the family to head a committee to restore it. Lummis and Reginaldo founded the Landmarks Club in 1887 to preserve old Californio places. Lummis built his home, El Arisal, in Arroyo Seco, a structure that is a mixture of Eastern masonry with Californio shapes, and set about to preserve the fast fading Californio past. After a period of temporary blindness and nervous exhaustion he recuperated at Camulos where he fell in love with Juventino del Valle's daughter. In a gesture befitting the novel *Ramona*, the family forbid the marriage, not because "Don Carlos" was an Indian but because he was a divorced man. Lummis later wrote, "... The old folks were like parents to me. The romance, the traditions, the customs of Camulos are all familiar and all dear to me — not merely because they are Camulos but because that was the Last Stand of the patriarchal life of Spanish California, which was so beautiful to the world for more than a century."³¹

In 1924 the del Valle corporation sold Rancho

Camulos for three million dollars to a Swiss albino, August Rubel, who hoped to explore for oil. The Fantasy Heritage was thus cashed in for a handsome profit.

Although Camulos was gone, the del Valles, and Reginaldo in particular, continued to act out the drama of the past. Reginaldo gave countless speeches for local historical associations, chambers of commerce and Rotary Clubs in Ventura, Los Angeles and Riverside counties. He continued to meet with the descendants of the Jayhawkers during their annual celebrations of their rescue by Ygnacio at Camulos in 1849. Reginaldo and his daughter, Lucretia, were important sponsors of John S. McGroarty's Mission Play. This was a romantic dramatization of *Ramona* performed yearly at Mission San Gabriel. A number of Californios, including the del Valles held stock in the Mission Play Association and loaned money for productions.³² For years Lucretia played *Ramona* and Reginaldo drove over visiting political dignitaries to see her perform.³³ The Mission Play ran for 20 years and won a commendation from the Pope because it portrayed Franciscan missionaries in a good light.

The Fantasy Heritage played no small part in Reginaldo's long political career. When he first ran for Congress in 1884 the Democrats touted him as the noblest expression of the Spanish race. The San Francisco *Golden Sun* described him as "... born under a Southern Sun, tanned in Spanish hue by its semi-tropic rays, with hair as black as a raven's wing, with eyes dark and piercing, sparkling like an eagle's ... a true child of Southern California. The blood of Spaniards flows in his veins, royal blood, and he is one of the descendants of the native Alta Californians who achieved distinction."³⁴ Reginaldo's defeat in this election proved that there were practical limits to romanticism. His opponent saw through the Spanish claptrap, called him a Mexican and maintained

"... no decent man has ever been born of a Mexican woman."³⁵ Evidently when it came to meaningful political power, even the most Spanish Californio would have to be happy with being a figurehead.

After his defeat Reginaldo served as a delegate to numerous State Democratic Conventions and was an elector in virtually every presidential election. Introduced to President Grover Cleveland as "a native son and Spanish scholar," Reginaldo was offered and refused three diplomatic posts.³⁶ Perhaps he recog-

nized that he had no talent for diplomacy. His appointment in 1913 as Woodrow Wilson's personal representative to Mexico proved that he was right. Being a bilingual Californio and a personal friend of William Jennings Bryan were the only two qualifications he possessed for the job. His mission to Mexico was a total disaster from the beginning to end mainly because of his diplomatic inexperience.³⁷ In 1914, Reginaldo returned to Los Angeles and resumed his long tenure as president of the Public



A view of the courtyard of the Camulos Adobe with a few of the citrus trees planted by Ygnacio del Valle.



Service Board, which later became the Los Angeles Board of Water and Power.

Through an accident of history, Reginaldo del Valle literally presided over the triumph of urban industrial society and the physical destruction of what was left of his Californio past. For years, he was a close friend of the eccentric genius William Mulholland, Los Angeles' Chief Water Engineer. Working closely with Mulholland he had helped construct the Owens Valley project, an endeavor which provoked dynamitings, ridicule and protracted legal battles.³⁸ Throughout the 1920s del Valle and the other four members of the Board unanimously passed every

proposal Mulholland put before them.³⁹

Reginaldo and Bill Mulholland shared a common vision — that of creating a water system that would ensure the urban growth of Los Angeles. During the 1920s this involved constructing a system of reservoirs and dams. One of these projects was the St. Francis Dam located in the San Francisquito canyon. Mulholland, a self educated hydrologist, had personally overseen the construction. When the dam began to spring leaks early in March, 1928, he considered it normal for projects of this type. The night of March 12, the St. Francis Dam crumbled. A mountain of water, mud and concrete rushed down the canyon

and onto the Santa Clara River Valley. The next day 450 people lay dead, buried in the mud. Damage to the land and structures approached 20 million dollars. Rancho Camulos, of course, lay in the path of the flood. While not completely destroyed, the rancho suffered damages to crops, trees and structures of well over 300,000 dollars.⁴⁰ Whole families, many of them long time friends of the del Valles, perished. The St. Francis Dam disaster must have been a deeply personal tragedy to the del Valle family.

The Californios have frequently been accused of isolating themselves from the Mexican immigrant community in Los Angeles. Considering themselves "Spanish" they looked with scorn on the thousands of working class mestizo and Indian immigrants who flooded Los Angeles in the decades after the Mexican Revolution of 1910. This was not the case with Reginaldo del Valle. He maintained a close friendship with Mexican leaders he had met during his mission to Mexico, like José M. Maytorrena, a former governor of Sonora who had moved to Los Angeles in the 1920s. He occasionally represented Spanish speaking immigrants in the courts.⁴¹ In 1912 he briefly represented General Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce, the former revolutionary leader in Baja California who had captured Tijuana for the Partido Liberal Mexicano.⁴² Reginaldo was also active in forming the San Gabriel Spanish American League. While middle class in composition, it represented an influential body of the newly arrived Spanish speaking immigrants.⁴³ In 1925 del Valle was awarded a

Medal of Merit by the Liga Protectora Latina for his services to the Mexican-American community. The Liga was in the vanguard of defending the rights of the Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles during this period.⁴⁴

On September 21, 1938 Reginaldo del Valle died of a heart attack, and the *Los Angeles Times* and *La Opinion* both carried laudatory accounts of his career. The *Times* highlighted his political successes and noted that he had always disliked being called "Spanish."⁴⁵ *La Opinion's* obituary mentioned his daughter Lucretia's prominent role in McGroarty's Mission Play and claimed that he had been the first to conceive of the storage reservoir system for metropolitan Los Angeles.⁴⁶ Reginaldo del Valle's life and career was an example of how the upper class Mexicanos in California managed to survive and even prosper during the early decades of the American era. True, they exchanged a romanticized view of the past for future political and economic power, and this is perhaps the most serious criticism of them. But after all they were fighting to maintain their self respect in difficult and changing times. Californios, like Reginaldo, really believed in the myth they were helping to create. Perhaps the prominence given to the few surviving Californios fulfilled the needs of the millions of rootless immigrants who migrated to California after 1880. The Fantasy Heritage, after all, gave these newcomers a ready made tradition with which they could identify. From the Californio point of view this same fantasy made it possible for Mexicanos and Angle-Americans to coexist with some degree of mutual respect.

All of the photographs used throughout this article are courtesy of the Ventura County Historical Society and Museum.

Two views of the Santa Clara River Valley after the St. Francis Dam disaster.



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David Farquharson

Pioneer California Architect

When William Ralston was ready to construct a building for the Bank of California, he chose the architectural firm of Kenitzer & Farquharson to design a symbol fit for the mightiest bank in the state. A few years later when silver kings Flood & O'Brien prepared to open the rival Nevada Bank, they too chose architect David Farquharson, who meanwhile had designed the first university buildings at Berkeley. In twenty years of San Francisco practice he built a dozen major commercial structures.

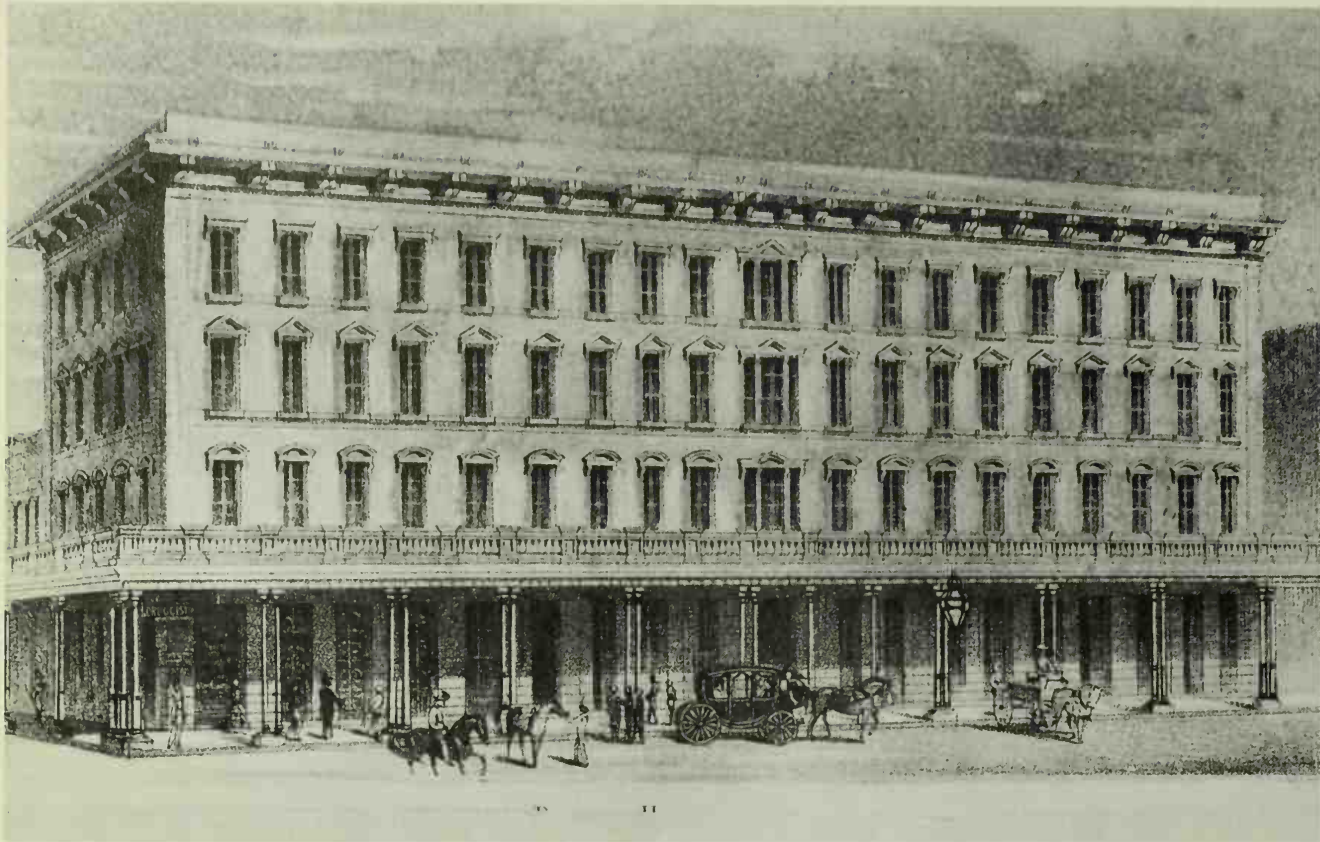
Farquharson's reputation was such that one contemporary wrote: "Of Mr. David Farquharson's ability as an architect it is not necessary to speak. This [Stock Exchange] is not Mr. Farquharson's only building. In it, however, he has, if possible, exceeded himself, and has given us an ornament of unsurpassed artistic merit." Nearly twenty years after his retirement, historian Oscar Shuck identified him as "eminent architect," and another fifteen years later his obituaries recalled he had been "known for many years as one of the city's most prominent architects." In our own decade Harold Kirker rated him with Peter Portois, William Patton and Victor Hoffman among "the brilliant international immigration of 1849-50" who designed the United States' first examples of Beaux-Arts Classicism and early buildings of other Renaissance cognate styles.¹

David Farquharson was born in 1827 in Arbroath, near Dundee, Scotland, and must have received his architectural education in that country. He emigrated directly to California in 1850 with his younger brother Charles, his lifelong assistant. By September 1851 he was setting up business as an architect in Sacramento.²

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*Architect David Farquharson's Sacramento
Courthouse, a fine example of Greek
Revival style, was the State Capitol
from 1856-1869.*





His most important client was Sacramento County itself. After a fire on July 13, 1854, the Supervisors advertised a competition for plans for a combined Courthouse and Jail. Farquharson won. The brick Courthouse and Jail was completed New Year's Day, 1855, at a cost of \$200,000. It served as the State Capitol Building from that moment until the State moved into the present Capitol in 1869, the County receiving \$12,000 annual rent. In 1909 it was demolished to make room for a larger County Courthouse.³

Farquharson's Courthouse was a lovely Greek Revival building, long admired for its design. Reminiscent of the Maison Carré in Nîmes, its pedimented portico boasted ten tall, fluted Ionic columns 3½ feet in diameter and 31½ feet high, made of brick. The entablature carried around the whole building, and tall Ionic pilasters adorned the sides. The proportions were calculated to inspire awe, respect and a sense of the individual's smallness.

With William F. Knox the architect formed a partnership lasting a couple of years. Since Virginia-born Knox appeared in later Sacramento directories as a carpenter and still later as a contractor who raised streets and buildings, Farquharson was probably the firm's designer. The order of names they used, Knox & Farquharson, might mean the latter avoided the selling aspects of the business.

In 1857 Farquharson executed a commission for construction of the Dawson House, a 200-room hotel at Fourth and J Streets. Four stories and a wide frontage made it one of Sacramento's largest and most imposing buildings. Later renamed the St. George Hotel, it sheltered pedestrians on the sidewalk from summer heat and winter rain with a balcony resting on posts, an arrangement then called a piazza. The building's facade was granite, with pediments over the second and third floor windows.⁴

Farquharson's whereabouts from 1857 to 1862 are a mystery. The brothers withdrew from their Sac-

Farquharson's elegantly simple Dawson House hotel (1857) stood at the southeast corner of Fourth and J Streets in Sacramento until it was demolished for a freeway exit about 1961.

ramento Masonic Lodge in 1857 and only joined a San Francisco Lodge in 1862. In the interval David Farquharson married a Scottish woman, and a daughter was born about 1858 — in Iowa! He did surface briefly in 1860, once again with Knox who may have summoned him from wherever he was, among the seven competitors for designing a permanent State Capitol. Their plan seems to have been thrown together in a hurry, as the drawings were not so finished as their rivals'. They called for a generously proportioned cruciform marble building with a central rotunda topped by a dome 147 feet high. M.F. Butler's design was chosen instead.⁵

Farquharson moved to San Francisco in 1862 and became the partner of German-born Henry Kenitzer, who had arrived in California in 1854 and practiced first with Reuben Clark as partner, then with Farquharson, and finally with Edward Raun until retiring early in the 1880s. The Kenitzer & Farquharson partnership lasted about eight years and produced several distinguished buildings.

When it began, Kenitzer was already working on Lick House, an elegant hotel owned by the pioneer philanthropist James Lick. At the southwest corner of Montgomery and Sutter, it was a three-story brick building with pedimented windows. Rudimentary pavilions divided each facade into five parts. Like Dawson House, the Lick rented the ground floor to stores. Above there was a splendid dining room which gained renown for its cuisine.⁶

Kenitzer & Farquharson's next known commission was for realtors Grissim & Henderson, who owned a 68¾-foot lot on the south side of Bush Street west of Sansome. On a square corner lot next door, the Cosmopolitan Hotel was nearing completion. Constructed in 1864-65, the Kenitzer & Farquharson building devoted floors three, four and five to an annex to the Cosmopolitan Hotel. Ads for the Hotel show a square building on the corner and a non-

matching addition on Bush Street. Even the floor levels in the two buildings were significantly different. The newer part contrasted bowed and grouped windows with the original's flat facade and evenly spaced windows. Instead of a mansard roof oversupplied with dormers, the extension had a heavily bracketed cornice. The shapes of the openings did echo each other: keystoned, round-headed windows on first, fourth and fifth floors in both buildings. The quoins matched. Overall, the Cosmopolitan addition was more balanced in its ornament, whereas the original hotel seems to have slapped ornate roof and entrance onto an otherwise quiet facade.⁷

Meanwhile Kenitzer & Farquharson were working on yet another hotel, The Nucleus, at the eastern corner of Third and Market where the Hearst Building now stands. In 1865 this was the first substantial brick building on Market Street. Its roof was a crested and dormered mansard not unlike that of the original Cosmopolitan Hotel. At first the Market Street facade was only five windows wide. Later it more than quadrupled in size, continuing the same design. Pictures of the expanded Nucleus Building show five sections separated by quoins, with a mansard tower over the center section. Presumably Kenitzer & Farquharson prepared the entire design.⁸

In December 1864 William Ralston purchased the northwest corner of California and Sansome for his Bank of California building. He had the Tehama Hotel moved away and set Kenitzer & Farquharson to work on his ideal bank building. In 1865 laborers began driving the piles, over 300 of them, and the building opened the first of July 1867. Although most contemporary San Francisco business buildings were of brick or brick with cast iron facades, the Bank of California boasted a facade of solid Angel Island blue stone. Some of the blocks weighed up to 7½ tons, and each column shaft was a single stone, 12 feet tall and over 3 tons in weight. The interior

was fitted with mahogany and birdseye maple, black marble, and frescoed ceilings. A little before the 1906 earthquake and fire, the building was demolished to make way for the present, larger Bank of California building by Bliss & Faville.⁹

Ralston had wanted "the most strictly architectural and beautiful structure in the State." Kenitzer & Farquharson gave him an adaptation of Sansovino's sixteenth century Library of St. Mark, which faces the Doge's Palace in Venice. In the 1850s and 1860s quite a few American buildings copied its round-headed windows under keystone arches on columns, in a recess embraced by larger columns. While John P. Gaynor, architect of Ralston's Belmont home, used this window module in easily repeated cast iron for the 1857 Haughwout Building, a New York City Landmark, the Bank of California's solid stone facade may have been unique. The building attracted the eye because of its surrounding air space. It was only two stories high, and its single-story extension left of the facade prevented any neighboring building from crowding it. Other structures came to tower over it; even in the 1860s most commercial buildings were taller, like the five-story Nucleus and Cosmopolitan Hotels. Evidently Ralston and the architects deliberately chose the low structure. They did not see fit to imitate the Library slavishly. The Bank of California substituted solid building for the model's arcade, simplified the entablature and crowned the roofline with balustrade with vases rather than statuary. Altogether the building was a great success for Kenitzer & Farquharson.¹⁰

Their last known project together was the Mercantile Library Building, begun in January 1867 and dedicated June 1868. The Library's treasurer William Ralston may have helped choose the architects. Because of the semi-public nature of the subscription-membership Mercantile Library, an ancestor of today's Mechanics' Library, descriptions of the build-

ing give unusually detailed information on its structure and arrangement. The bearing walls were brick, probably about 5½ feet thick in the basement, 3½ feet thick at ground level and 2½ feet above. For fireproofing, especially important to a library, iron rather than wooden ceilings and girders supported each floor. The facade was of cast iron, except for oil mastic on the plain sections above windows. The ground floor contained two stores, each 18 × 50 feet, flanking a grand entrance hall 26 × 50 × 19 feet high. On the second floor the library room occupied the full frontage, to the same depth as the stores. Identical space on the third floor held the chess and smoking room. Behind this depth of 50 feet plus walls, a public lecture room rose from the basement partly through the ground floor, 58 × 74 × 24 feet high, occupying all the rest of the building at that level. The basement also contained a supper room, dressing rooms and waiting rooms. Circulation between floors was provided in the center of the building by a broad staircase with several landings, lit from a skylight. Rooms above the lecture hall included reference, museum and men's and women's reading rooms. Behind the mansard roof were 24 skylit rental rooms off wide corridors on each side. For heating, all rooms had fireplaces, but the architects also provided a hot-air furnace with appropriate flues.¹¹

Kenitzer & Farquharson's partnership dissolved about 1870, while the two men were working on a master plan for the fledgling University of California. Eventually Farquharson alone received credit, and pay, for the U.C. work. Although in 1865-66 Frederick Law Olmsted had prepared a Berkeley town plan which included a sloping campus oriented toward the view through the Golden Gate, the University Regents acted as if no plan existed, except that in 1870 they paid Olmsted's fee. By 1872 his plan had disappeared, but long before that the Regents had advertised a competition for a new one. Wright &



The great architectural patron William Ralston had Kenitzer & Farquharson design the beautiful Bank of California (1866-67).

Sanders won, but refused the award when they learned how small the fee was. Instead of going to the runner-up, the Regents, who included Ralston, contracted on August 31, 1869 with Kenitzer & Farquharson for a plan, working drawings, specifications and supervision of construction.¹²

Farquharson's master plan called for six major buildings placed in a shallow triangle facing the Golden Gate and anchored on the south by the College of Agriculture, now called South Hall. The proposal included Colleges of Letters, Mechanic Arts, Civil Engineering and Mines, a Hall of California, professors' houses, dormitories and two observatories. University construction roughly followed Farquharson's guidelines until about 1890, with four major buildings, student housing and an observatory located approximately as he had suggested, though only half were his designs. A gymnasium was added off to one side. In April 1870 construction began on the plan's first building, South Hall, under the architect's supervision. But by the end of the year funds ran out and the nearly complete basement was covered over.¹³

Meanwhile Farquharson was busy on a new kind of venture, combining his own capital with his architectural expertise. In the suburbs west of San Francisco proper he bought the block bounded by Buchanan, Washington, Webster and Jackson

Streets. Its proximity to a horse car line under construction assured access and commercial viability. Farquharson proposed to subdivide the block and erect 40 units of speculative housing, to be sold "on the installment plan." Though Farquharson's tract was probably San Francisco's largest up to that time, elements of his operation had been in the air. During the 1860s several homestead associations had popularized buying small, house-sized lots on time payments, encouraging home-ownership among workingmen. By 1870 it was apparent that disappointingly little construction followed the lot buying, and small groups of houses began to be built on speculation. Farquharson made a new departure only in the size of his response to the need for housing. Several others had larger projects in hand before Farquharson had sold all of his.¹⁴

The tract acquired the name "Tuckerville" after J. W. Tucker, popular San Francisco jeweler, who helped with the financing and selling and who took over the last dwindling sales. Two sources show Farquharson's involvement in the project. A July 1870 newspaper ad read, "The Plans and Specifications of a Block of Buildings to be erected by David Farquharson, Esq. are on exhibition at J. W. Tucker & Co's Jewelry Store . . ." Farquharson himself became owner of record of the whole block in August 1870, paying \$45,000. Records from



For the Mercantile Library Building of 1867-68 (center, next to Calvary Church) Kenitzer & Farquharson used modish French Second Empire style.

November 1870 through March 1871 show he sold a total of twenty-six 25-foot lots with houses to individual homeowners on the four sides of the block, price \$2,800 to \$3,500. In addition, Tucker bought seven houses and resold five. Tuckerville appeared among "Prominent Places" in San Francisco directories for a decade and a half beginning in 1874. This Tuckerville occupied both Farquharson's block and the one to the north, where in 1873 Charles H. Killey, a realtor at Union and Webster, sold five houses in a row, of which 2223 Pacific remains. Whether Farquharson was involved is not known, but by that time he'd invested his capital elsewhere.¹⁵

The Tuckerville houses were modest, one-story duplexes with octagonal bays and large gardens. Farquharson had them all painted white. The outdoor surroundings were so featured that a later writer recalled "that pretty square block of birdcage houses, each set in a garden of roses." Only 2209 Jackson survives; it's both parts of a duplex.¹⁶

Back on the Berkeley campus the University Regents prevailed upon the State Legislature to appropriate \$300,000 for construction, and to grant them special exemption from the 1870 requirement of labor at day rates, thus allowing them to use the less expensive contract rates. In 1872 the foundation cover was removed and Farquharson resumed his careful supervision of the brick and granite South Hall. He described it in the 1872-1873 *Regents Report*:

The College of Agriculture has a frontage of 152 feet with an average width of 56 feet. There are four stories in all, and 34 rooms in the building, six of them being 32 × 48 feet . . .

There is one great staircase near the center of the building, and an elevator is also provided . . . the principle (*sic*) halls, rooms and corridors are to be heated by steam . . . Gas pipes are arranged for lighting, and fire hose supplied to every floor.

The basement is built of the best Folsom granite, dressed as rock face ashlar, and capped with fine cut water table. The main walls are faced with pressed brick, and the whole of the window dressings, coins, pilasters, belts, etc. of cast iron. The building is bonded throughout in every direction with wrought iron, and the floors are supported by heavy wrought iron girders. The roof is of slate and is surmounted by a cast iron cresting. The whole interior finish is of white cedar wood, varnished.

The furniture and fittings of laboratories, lecture rooms etc. are in walnut and laurel woods . . .¹⁷

South Hall opened in 1873 as the College of Agriculture, housing the physical sciences, natural history, museum and library. Now the School of Library Science and Information Studies, its exterior is little changed from the original, except for elimination of the west entrance to make space for Wheeler Hall, and splitting into two the formerly single-flight east stairs. Inside, the grand staircase retains its glossy golden balustrade.

Early in 1873 heavy enrollment at the University's temporary Oakland campus prompted the Regents

to authorize construction of another permanent building, the College of Letters or North Hall, on the present site of the Bancroft Library. Building Committee Chairman Dr. Samuel Merritt, an Oakland dentist and builder, was impatient with Farquharson's careful supervision of the fireproof construction. Ignoring conflict-of-interest legislation, he set his favorite contractors to work on the second building. He used Farquharson's design, without paying or consulting him, and had George J. Newsom alter it for a wooden structure. Finishing first, he considered North Hall a personal triumph and rammed a resolution through the Regents to assess damages against the architect unless South Hall were finished in three weeks. At least Merritt had had the sense to use Farquharson's imposing facade, which visually balanced the two Halls. Both had four floors counting basements, somewhat similar dimensions, mansard roofs and matching window trim. The upper stories of North Hall were demolished in 1917, the rest in 1931; it was considered a fire hazard.¹⁸

While tilting with the University Trustees, Far-

quharson put forth another capital venture, this time almost totally unrelated to architecture. It was a bank, the California Savings & Loan Society, incorporated June 24, 1873, with David Farquharson as president. A good deal of organization preceded that date; the papers of incorporation list \$300,000 of capital stock paid in by 74 individuals. Former Governor and U.S. Senator Milton S. Latham headed the list, followed by Charles Lux, of the Miller & Lux land and cattle empire. Many of the stockholders were prominent men, and half were Farquharson's professional contacts: realtors, suppliers, contractors and other architects. By the end of 1874 California Savings & Loan reported \$272,194 in deposits and \$319,347 loaned out. Regular deposits, a little more than half the total, were invested in city real estate, which may have included the Tuckerville mortgages. Term deposits were "chiefly invested in agricultural lands in the valleys of the counties around our bay." Farquharson remained president of the Society till his death in 1914.¹⁹

Founding his own bank seemed, if anything, to



In 1870 Farquharson suggested six "spacious and elegant buildings" for the University of California (from left): the College of Mines, the College of Civil Engineering, the College of Mechanic Arts, the Hall of California (Bacon), the College of Letters (North Hall), and the College of Agriculture (South Hall).

Farquharson's North Hall (center, 1873) and South Hall (left, 1870-73) made a harmonious ensemble on the Berkeley campus, although one was built of wood and the other of brick and granite. South Hall is the architect's only known surviving major work.

encourage other banks to retain his professional services. Farquharson's next major work, commissioned by his stockholder Milton Latham, was the Bank of London & San Francisco, at the northwest corner of California and Leidesdorff, built in 1873-74 of brick with a cast iron facade. Originally three stories high with an elaborate upper entablature and ballustrade, it survived the earthquake and fire of 1906, but the inside had to be rebuilt. D. H. Burnham & Co., with Willis Polk in charge, removed the cornice and added a quieter fourth story.²⁰

Farquharson's design featured round-headed windows set in pairs on the California facade and at corner pavilions, and singly in a colonnade on the side street. Small engaged columns in recesses supported the window arches, larger columns stood between, with a different order at each story: Doric below, Ionic at the second story and Corinthian above. Other ornaments included male caryatids, pediments, ballustrade vases, fruit and flower relief, interlace and, originally, a British lion and a Califor-

nia bear above the door. The architect carefully balanced each facade with corners marked separately and with a heavy base supporting the columns.

When Wells Fargo demolished the bank building in 1959, part of the corner was saved. The second-floor pedimented window surround is featured in the Oakland Museum's central art gallery. The entrance lies in pieces behind the North Point sewer plant. The remains display the maker's name, "Hinckley & Co., Fulton Iron Works, 1873." They also show iron a half-inch thick and columns stuffed with cemented brick. The male caryatids which survived the 1906 fire may not survive the rust.

Farquharson ended his Berkeley campus work with the first student housing, erected in 1874 for \$21,600. Six cottages for men stood until 1932 on the site of Edwards Field, and two for women near what's now the Faculty Club. Each one-story cottage had five rooms for two students apiece, plus hall, dining room, kitchen, service area (or scullery) and yard. The only closet and the only possible plumb-

Jeweler J. W. Tucker provided financial backing for Farquharson to build the inexpensive "Tuckerville" tract houses in 1870.





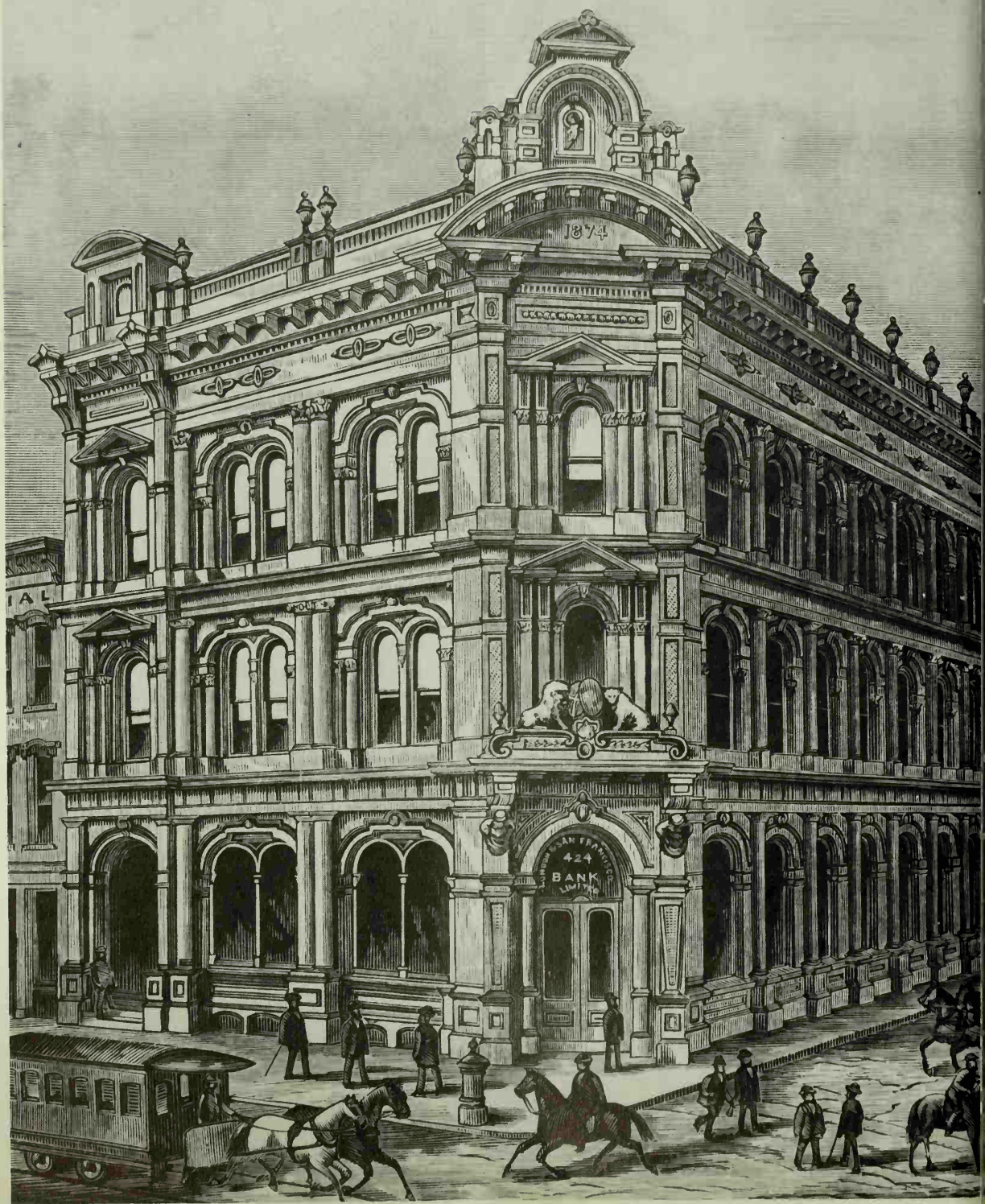
ing, one "sink," were in the kitchen. The University charged \$300 a year and filled them easily. Resembling standard residences of the period, the wooden cottages had horizontal siding, overhanging eaves with fancy barge boards, roof cresting and a bay window each.²¹

Back in San Francisco another bank claimed Farquharson's attention. The Comstock silver kings Flood & O'Brien were organizing a competitor to the mighty Bank of California and proposed to begin operations not in some temporary structure but in their own magnificent building, on a prime 125 × 137½-foot site at the northwest corner of Montgomery and Pine Streets. Money was no obstacle to the silver kings. When the Nevada Bank opened its doors on October 4, 1875, they had spent some \$700,000 on land and construction before doing a dollar's worth of business.²²

Farquharson had given these lucky miners and

crafty manipulators a building to outshout any competition. It had a stone basement, iron-fronted main floor, and brick and iron together on the three stories above. Many windows repeated the Sansovino module on the Bank of California, but there were more engaged columns, a fancier cornice, visible roof with high iron cresting, and turrets. However the omnipresent ornaments were appropriate to the building's great size. Bands of pillowy rustication ran up the facade at corners and centers, and deep shadows defined proportions.

Publicity about the Nevada Block, as the combination bank and office building was called, boasted its substantiality and resistance to fire and earthquake. But the catastrophe of 1906 laid bare the structure inside its walls, enabling the architect John Cotter Pelton to notice what he believed was the first reinforcing column ever placed in a modern wall. He gave due tribute to the Nevada Block's architect





This photograph taken from the Nevada Block shows two more of Farquharson's seven major buildings near the Montgomery-Pine intersection: the Stock Exchange (tower on left) and the Real Estate Associates' Building (tower on right, both 1876-78).



Eleanor Gibbons' etching (left) and Farquharson's own drawing (right) show the London & San Francisco Bank as designed in 1873. Between the 1906 fire and its demolition in 1950, this cast iron structure looked less fanciful, thanks to the addition of a sober attic story and the removal of the California bear and British lion.

Farquharson's largest and most expensive commission, the Nevada Block (1875) symbolized its owners' solid opulence, while concealing the structural innovation of weight-bearing columns.

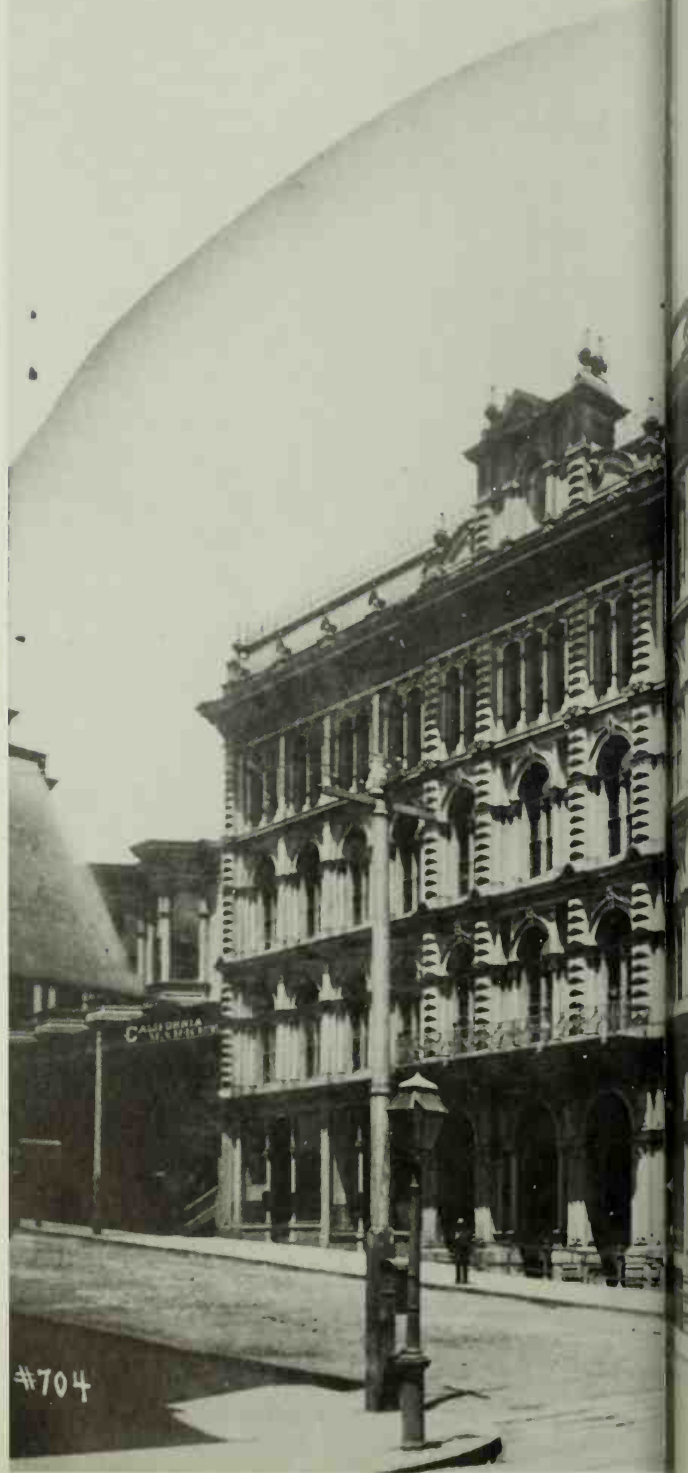
David Farquharson as a structural innovator.²³

Innovation had nothing to do with the residence Farquharson designed in 1875 at 1916 Jackson Street for Frederick W. Macondray, importer, insurer and owner of a packet line to Hong Kong. Long gone, the three-story and basement frame was in the vanguard of its era with iron cresting and bays roofed to suggest turrets. Its centered portico indicated a symmetrical, axial floor plan double that of the usual San Francisco Victorian. Though Farquharson may have designed many private residences on commission, the Macondray house is the only one for which records survive. The California Historical Society has the Contract, made on Farquharson's printed form with blanks to fill in. The \$14,840 contract is similar to ones used now, its heart being:

Said work is to be executed in strict accordance with the plans and specifications for the same, prepared by David Farquharson, Architect . . . and hereby made a part of this contract . . . [Contractor Edward Farrell promises to build it] to the full satisfaction of said Architect, and under his direction and superintendence, and as provided for in said plans and specifications.

The hand-written estimate and extra work included bath rooms [*sic*], water closets, two coats of plaster and three of paint inside and out, doors grained, no cornice or center, no mantles, but dining room wainscoting, ground glass in sliding door, hardwood hall floor, and fencing on all four sides.²⁴

The financial community's next call on Farquharson came from San Francisco Stock Exchange president John W. Coleman. After fourteen years in rented quarters, the Exchange was ready in 1876 to erect its own building on the south side of Pine Street, east of Montgomery. As in the Nevada Block, the architect must have used reinforcing columns within the masonry walls because the Board Room, or exchange floor, measured about 77 feet square, leaving only a foot of the lot's width for the thickness of two exterior walls. The earthquake of 1906 did not





harm the building, but it was dynamited in a vain effort to halt the subsequent fire.²⁵

In pictures the Stock Exchange looks like a precursor of the stick style wooden houses that filled residential districts a decade later. It featured verticals between the windows, and the facade rose nearly 70 feet before arch or curve broke its straight lines. The most discussed exterior feature was the horizontal stripes of light and dark granite. Inside there was Belgian black and Tennessee gray marble. To ventilate the Board Room Farquharson designed a semi-domed and perforated ceiling, one example of the "practical details . . . peculiar to the purposes of the building" in which at least one writer found "proof that a good architect must be something more than an artist," a significant remark for the days before form had to follow function.²⁶

Farquharson's next work, The Real Estate Associates' Building, looked almost like a curtain-wall structure, windows occupying most of the 44-foot-wide facade. The massiveness of the Nevada Bank had disappeared entirely. Although contemporary reports mention only a brick structure, it must have incorporated reinforcing columns, and like the Stock Exchange it repudiated the least suggestion of supporting arches. The granite facing was limited to trim, carved in a motley of styles from Egyptian Revival to heads and arabesques. Perhaps quarrier G. Griffiths had persuaded the client to give his granite carvers free rein. The Real Estate Associates, who built and sold nearly a thousand frame houses in tracts not unlike Farquharson's Tuckerville, hoped this office building would perpetuate their name and record.²⁷

Farquharson perpetuated the record of his own California Savings & Loan Society with a building at the northwest corner of Powell and Eddy. Called St. Ann's Building after the local valley, it was brick and five stories high with tower, ballustrade, and a flight

of steps up to the corner entrance. Each floor had a different window design, all of iron cast in molds for easy repetition. On the first floor engaged columns separated large windows; on the second, keystones accented arches; and on the fourth, pediments stood above rectangular windows. With four entrances and at least one elevator, St. Ann's functioned as an office building. Several architects practised here, and from his own California Savings & Loan office Farquharson watched the ladies arriving at the Baldwin Theater's matinees across the street. The building was destroyed in the 1906 fire. Farquharson had bought the lot in 1876 for \$100,000, and he finished construction in time for the 1878 *Directory* to list his office at this address.²⁸

The late 1870s were bad years for San Francisco architects because of a local depression. Farquharson more and more seriously considered leaving the profession. After 1878 he dropped his directory listing as an architect in favor of the Savings & Loan presidency. In August 1879 Charles de Young of the *Chronicle* nominated him for mayor, but that was the year mass unemployment produced sandlot Kearneyism and a winning combination of the Workingmen's Party and Isaac Kallach for mayor. Farquharson withdrew from the race after two weeks.²⁹

He designed his architectural swansong in 1880-1881, two buildings side by side on Market Street. Four-story brick structures of similar heights, the Holbrook Block and the Arizona Block occupied the entire frontage from Beale to Main. Not especially distinguished in either structure or design, they continued the pattern of stores at ground level and offices above, with a different window design on each floor. Cornices and parapets encouraged fanciful ornaments, but the architect seemed only to be repeating himself.³⁰

After these buildings Farquharson definitely cast



David Farquharson's portrait appeared with his obituary, more than thirty years after he had retired from the field of architecture.

his lot as a banker and capitalist. Retiring from his profession before the age of 55, he seemed to have no lack of money. The family was listed in the *San Francisco Bluebook* and his wife Jessie was an acknowledged social leader, active in the First Unitarian Church. Farquharson himself had belonged to the Masons, the Society of Territorial Pioneers, the St. Andrews Society and the Bohemian Club. After the 1906 fire he moved into the Fairmont Hotel. Till the age of 80 he paid to have his directory listing in large type.³¹

Part of the money to support such a life came from obvious sources: savings from the successful pursuit of his profession, rentals in the St. Ann Building and dividends from California Savings & Loan Society. He invested in and began developing the Visitacion Water Company, with his brother Charles as manager. Its works, and presumably its customers,

were in what is now the southeastern part of San Francisco. By 1888 the water company had not begun to pay dividends, nor was it likely to; heavy expenses and fierce competition offset the monthly revenues of about \$1200. The company has disappeared. Other sources of Farquharson's income are unclear.³²

If they were mysterious, probably the California Savings & Loan Society held the key (The current Association of this name is not related to Farquharson's company). For a dozen years beginning in the late 1890s San Francisco directories show the Society in the process of liquidation. Yet Farquharson continued throughout his life to be listed as its president. This may have been family catering to the vanity of an old man; or perhaps the answer lies in the Miller & Lux land and cattle empire. Both Henry Miller and Charles Lux held stock in California Savings & Loan. Banking authority Ira Cross and the Society's 1874 annual report agree that it made loans on agricultural land in the interior of the state, which could mean land Miller & Lux owned or leased. According to his biography, when Miller swallowed the San Joaquin & Kings River Canal Company, its prime investor W. S. Chapman "lost his vast east side lands to the Scotch capitalists who had advanced him money." Were those Scotch capitalists the Farquharson brothers? Miller & Lux may have leased the ex-Chapman lands; it's recorded that they paid \$20,000 annually on leases, \$14,000 of it to one person. Perhaps some of the vast Miller & Lux income supported Farquharson for the 33 years after he retired from architecture.³³

He liked to watch the progress of his former students. Apprenticeship had been the only architectural education available in this country, and Farquharson had trained his share, including Edward R. Swain, who designed the Whittier Mansion, California Historical Society headquarters; Clinton Day, who

planned the Spring Valley Water Company building, better known as the City of Paris; John J. Clark, who did a lot of small work for the Catholic Church; and Thomas J. Welsh, who designed Sacred Heart Church on Fillmore. All worked under Farquharson at one time or another, all learned from him and profited from the fine architectural library which Dr. Kirker claims he had.³⁴

In addition to his students, Farquharson's contributions as an architect had been great. In a quarter century of practice in California he had created a number of buildings outstanding in beauty: the Sacramento Courthouse of 1854, the Bank of California of 1867, the University of California's South Hall, the Bank of London & San Francisco of 1873-74, and the Nevada Bank of 1875. He pioneered quality architecture in the state and mass, low-cost speculative housing in the city. He was one of the first in the west to put iron girders in a building. He was probably the very first person to put a weight-bearing iron column inside a masonry wall, thereby increasing available floorspace and moving toward the steel-frame, glass-curtain-wall structures of the twentieth century. He provided creative floor arrangements tailored to the clients' special needs. The concentration of seven major buildings within 500 feet of the Montgomery and Pine intersection witnessed his popularity, his prominence and his skill. Sadly, all but one of the seven had gone before he himself died, and now his only major building left is South Hall.

The University of California illustrations and the Tuckerville photograph are courtesy of the Bancroft Library, U.C. Berkeley. Farquharson's drawing is reproduced from *The California Architect & Building News*, XI, 10 (October 1890), 107, courtesy of the Environmental Design Library, U.C. Berkeley. Farquharson's portrait is from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 21, 1914, 11. All other illustrations are from the CHS Library.

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The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire

Photographs and Manuscripts from the
California Historical Society Library

California has always been plagued by earthquakes. The earliest written account of an earthquake in California was made by Spanish explorers, who in 1790 recorded a report by Indians of an earthquake eighty years before, in what is now the Owens Valley. During the period 1900-1974 alone there were 39,578 earthquakes of all sizes in California, and of these, approximately 3600 were at least 4.0 on the Richter scale; that is, strong enough to be felt.¹

San Francisco has also had its share of major earthquakes. In 1865 there was a quake centered in Santa Cruz or Santa Clara Counties which shook the city and which contemporary geologists believe to have had a force of 6.2 on the Richter. This was followed by another in 1868, now rated at 6.7 on the Richter, which originated in the Hayward fault in the East Bay.² Five people were killed in San Francisco by falling debris; thirty died in Hayward and San Leandro.³ However, when anyone in San Francisco today speaks about THE earthquake, there is little doubt that he or she is referring to the quake of 1906.

This calamity befell San Francisco on April 18, 1906, at approximately 5:13 a.m. and lasted 65-75 seconds.⁴ It is now estimated to have had a force of 8.25 on the Richter — 8.0 being the level at which an earthquake causes severe property damage and loss of life. Fires from gas jets and chimneys broke out in different parts of the city, but because the distributing water mains had burst during the earthquake, the fire department was powerless to

Laverne Mau Dicker is the former CHS Photographs Curator. The author would like to thank Marilyn Ziebarth and Karl Feichtmeir for their assistance in preparing this article.

*"Few have many dollars left to keep the wolf away. I
was going to say from the door but there is no door."*

Letter, Tom to Jessie





"Papa sent you a postal of Howard St. between 17th & 18th Sts. If you remember, one house collapsed; then there is a 2 story white house that is off its foundation and next to that a three-story white house which was all off its foundation and was leaning on the house next to it. Well, that house has been taken down. I think the owner must wish that it had burnt as he would have received some insurance whereas now it is a total loss . . ."

Letter to a Friend, Carrie A. Mangels

prevent the fire from spreading into one massive blaze. They were thus put into the peculiar position of having 80,000,000 gallons of water stored within the city's reservoirs, but no way of tapping it.⁵

The combination of the earthquake and fire still stands as the largest single disaster in the city's history. The devastated area was six times that of the Great London Fire of 1666: 490 blocks of San Francisco burned, a total of 2831 acres.⁶ Estimates of casualties from the earthquake and fire ranged from 300 to 700 (William Bronson in his book, *The Earth Shook, The Sky Burned*, quoted a casualty rate of 450.) However, it was impossible to agree upon an accurate figure, since there were an indeterminate number who were buried in the rubble of collapsed buildings or who died during the fire. In addition, it was difficult to determine which of the missing were dead and which were alive, as San Francisco's population was scattered into refugee camps throughout the Bay Area. Suffice to say that hundreds lost their lives and thousands more lost their homes and possessions.

Some pious souls claimed that the earthquake was punishment for San Francisco's wickedness, which led a local wag to venture:

If as some say, God spanked the town
For being over frisky,
Why did he burn the churches down
And save Hotaling's Whiskey?⁷

The U.S. Geological Survey, however, described the earthquake in more empirical terms:

The San Francisco earthquake of 1906 had its origin in a rupture associated with mountain-making forces . . . The great majority of ruptures include not only the making of a crack but the relative movement or sliding of the rock masses on the two sides of the crack; that is to say, instead of a mere fracture there is a geologic fault. After a fault has been made its walls slowly become cemented or welded together; but for a long time it remains a plane of weakness, so that subsequent strains are apt to be relieved by renewed slipping on the same plane of rupture . . . The San Francisco earthquake had its origin, wholly or chiefly, in a new slipping on the plane of an old fault.⁸

Photographically, the earthquake and fire of 1906 was one of the best documented disasters of its time. Had the event taken place a mere thirty years earlier, this might not have been the case. Prior to 1888, photography was a skilled trade, requiring a thorough knowledge of photographic apparatus and chemical processes:

Formerly the photographer needed a darkroom and had to be thoroughly acquainted

with the rules of focusing, and the relation of lens apertures to light, spending weeks learning developing, fixing, printing, toning, and mounting, before he could show good results . . . It was considered a heresy to use any preparation that was not made by the photographer himself.⁹

In 1888, with the introduction of the Kodak, George Eastman revolutionized the field and set professional photography on its ear. The Kodak, a hand camera measuring $6\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches and weighing 2 lb. 3 oz., incorporated a continuous roll-film arrangement instead of bulky single plates. It was therefore possible to take 100 photographs, each $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, without reloading. Fairly inexpensive at \$25, the Kodak was also a very uncomplicated piece of machinery. Eastman, in the instruction book, stated: "Today photography has been reduced to a cycle of three simple operations. 1. Pull the String. 2. Turn the Key. 3. Push the Button." He claimed that even a rank amateur could have a success rate of 85% from the very start.¹⁰

Eastman also instituted the first photographic processing service. For a fee of \$10, a photographer could send his camera to Eastman's factory in New York and receive in return 100 mounted prints and his camera reloaded and ready to go. Advertised Eastman, "You push the button, we do the rest."¹¹

In 1895 Eastman was able to offer his buying public an even lighter, cheaper camera, an aluminum model designed by Frank A. Brownell. The "Brownie," measuring only $2\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$ inches and weighing a mere 7 ounces, could take twelve $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ inch photographs, which could then be successfully enlarged. The cost: \$5. Most importantly, the Brownie used daylight-loading roll film. With a few inches of protective black paper or cloth attached to the ends of the film, it was no longer necessary to have the camera reloaded in a darkroom; it could now be done on-the-spot.¹² This was a milestone in the history of photography and marked the rise of amateur photography.

By 1906, then, photography had become cheap enough and simple enough for many families in San Francisco to own and operate a camera. When the tremors of the earthquake had subsided and flames were raging through the downtown district, it seemed the most natural thing in the world to pick up the family camera and record in photographs the destruction of San Francisco.

" . . . We saw no crying women or downcast men. There was an exhilaration in the desperation of the moment."

Charles Page



"... Wild rumors were rife. The Cliff House had fallen into the ocean, Chicago was under 7 feet of water, Salt Lake City was prostrate, Kansas City was burning up, Seattle and Portland were both under water, Los Angeles had been shaken by the earthquake and was on fire. There was no communication with the outside world, because railroad tracks had been damaged and the telegraph and telephone wires were all down ..."

Myrtle Robertson



Telegraph operator, Portsmouth Square

The California Historical Society has fallen heir to many of these photographs: the Library's earthquake and fire collection includes several thousand views of San Francisco taken on April 18, 1906, and in the days that followed. Professional photographers such as Arnold Genthe and Edward Bear are represented, as are hundreds of amateur photographers. These photographs, which include views of ruined buildings, refugee camps, troops on duty, and the fire in progress, constitute an impressive and dramatic primary source for historical researchers.

The Manuscript Collection housed in the Society's Library also contains a wealth of primary source documentation relating to the earthquake and fire. Letters, eye witness accounts, reminiscences and various ephemeral material such as food tickets and "Fire passes" comprise this collection. Perhaps the most interesting and historically germane primary source material are the letters. Over one hundred examples of correspondence to or from San Franciscans who experienced the "great shake" offer substantive documentation of the earthquake's effect. Moreover, they express the terror, helplessness and mysterious fascination aroused by those who experienced the event.

In this pictorial essay these two resources have been utilized to document factual events in the period following the disaster and to recreate the feelings and thoughts of the people. All photographs and captions are taken from the photo and manuscript collections of the California Historical Society. Some of these will be familiar to the reader; others are published here for the first time.

Much attention has been given to San Francisco's plight after the earthquake and fire, but it is not generally known that the effects of the quake went far beyond the city limits. Evidence of slippage was found from San Juan (near Hollister) in the south to Point Arena in the north; the damaged area was 180 miles long and 20 to 40 miles wide.¹³ Included here are photographs of some of the towns in these areas (e.g. San Jose, Santa Rosa, and Palo Alto) in order to present a more complete view.

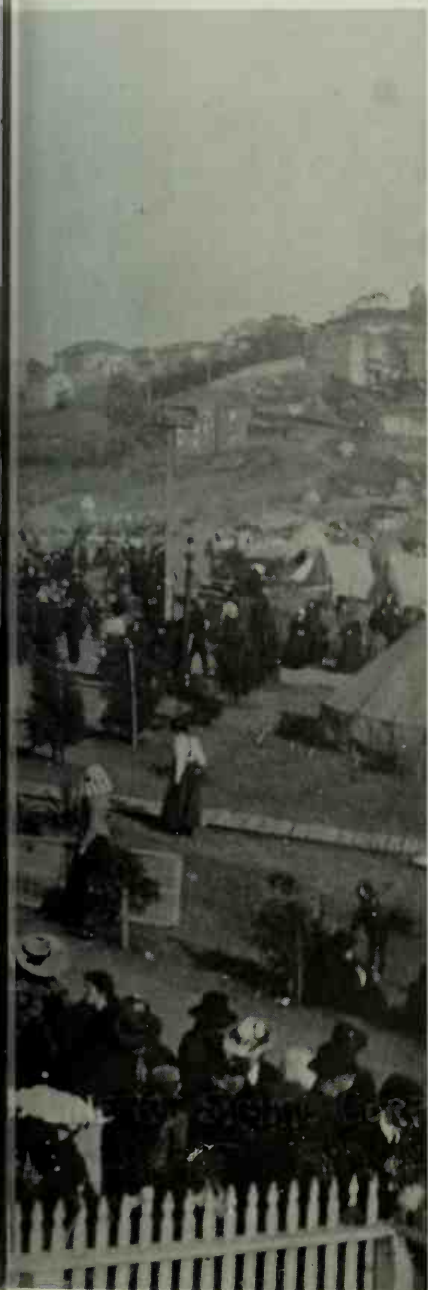
In the course of researching this essay several interesting points emerged. There was a striking uniformity in survivors' descriptions of the tremor. "Shaken" was used in almost every case, in combination with "as a dog shakes a cat," "as a dog shakes a rat," or "as a cat shakes a rat." Only Alice Hutchinson offered a notably unusual animal simile:

I was on a cot and tried hard to stay with it, only a life-long experience at riding horseback and breaking my own horses enabled me to do it . . . I would never try it again, not even if I had a saddle and bridle on it.¹⁴



"The services rendered . . . by automobiles will never be forgotten . . . They made ten trips where a horse would make one, and almost every owner of one in town donated the use of it to the stricken city."

W. E. Alexander



"We don't need Postage Stamps over here now. Letters go every place free of charge."

Letter, Catherine to Elise





In addition, similar anecdotes cropped up repeatedly in other manuscripts, usually exhibiting only slight variations on the same theme. Some examples: a shopkeeper, knowing that the fire was approaching, threw his store open for the taking, but those who took advantage of his offer were mistakenly shot as looters; a woman was shot by soldiers for lighting a cooking fire against orders (in another version, the protagonist was a Japanese gardener); scarlet fever and smallpox epidemics were sweeping through the refugee camps; more than 50 (100/150) babies were born in Golden Gate Park the night of April 18th; Los Angeles was on fire, Chicago was underwater, Salt Lake City was devastated. Some of these stories were a natural by-product of San Francisco's isolation during those first few days; rumors and tall tales ran rampant while communications lines were down and contact with the outside world was impossible. Others (e.g. "Ours was the last house on the block to be dynamited"; "No sooner had she climbed out a window to safety than the entire building collapsed") were probably due to the human bent to hyperbole. This, it should be stressed, in no way invalidates the accounts. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., points out, "We all know that interviews can be no better than a person's memory and that little is more treacherous than that." However, he goes on, historians are justified in drawing on such memoirs "when the context of the conversation is plausibly supported by . . . other evidence."¹⁵ In these particular cases there was a surplus of "other evidence."

There was also a difference in attitudes towards women in 1906. Women then, it seems, were seen as frail, nervous creatures who needed extra protection and guidance in times of crisis. One manuscript tells of a large group of coeds at Stanford camping out on the dormitory lawn after the earthquake,

"While on guard in the pan-handle of the Park I saw a crowd of people standing around a Bakery wagon . . . I found that the driver was asking 50 cents for a loaf of bread. Of course, this was outrageous and the poor people could never afford a price like this . . . I leveled my gun at the driver and told the people to line up and get a loaf apiece. Well, Pa, we cleaned that wagon out in a couple of minutes and the crowd thought I was just OK."

Elmer E. Enewold

Class of 1906, in front of the ruins of Polytechnic High School.



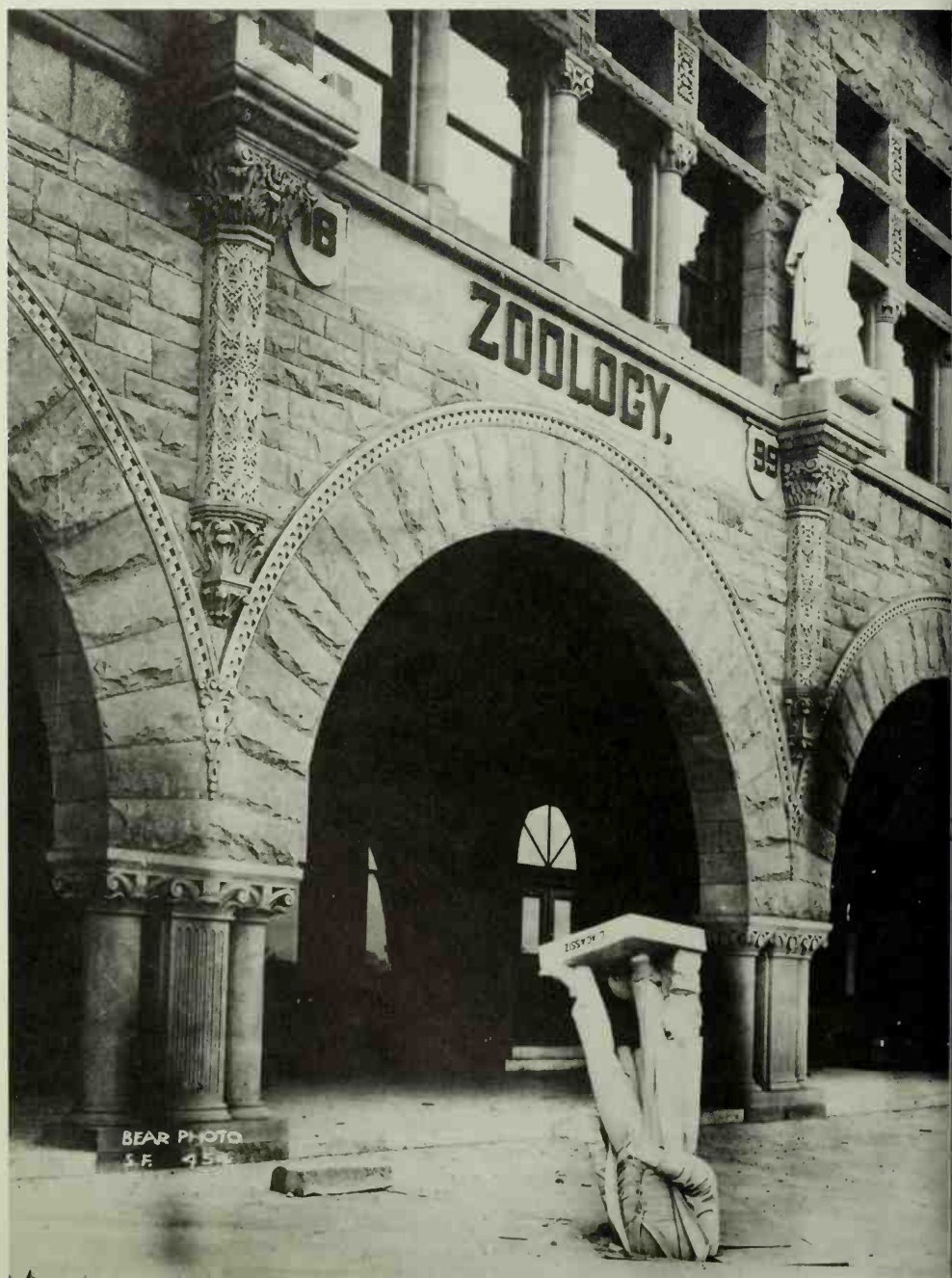


*A refugee tent,
Jefferson Square*

guarded by a university athlete armed with a pistol. (Imagine that being necessary with today's independent college women!) Another manuscript told of a group of nuns being escorted by a lone priest to shelter several miles away; apparently, they were not thought capable of finding their own way. Women who remained calm and acted sensibly were termed "brave," and it was taken for granted that they would be at the breaking point. Yet the accounts written by the women themselves were for the most part quite stoic. Anna Wolfsom Samuel, for example, who at 18 was head cashier at the Emporium, walked to work on the morning of April 18th, despite her father's wry observation that "there won't be any work to do." She answered that she felt she must go because perhaps no one else on the staff would be there. No one else was, for Market Street was already ablaze.¹⁶

San Francisco did, as many had predicted, rise like a Phoenix from the ashes, and less than ten years later had recovered sufficiently to play host to an international exposition. Those of us who love the city give thanks that San Francisco still lives. We can only hope that the same determination which carried her people through the dark days of 1906 will see them safely through the future.

Agassiz statue, Stanford University



"At five fifteen on April 18, 1906 the San Andreas Fault shifted and all hell broke loose. From my top berth at the Inn I was roughly thrown to the floor, barely landing on my roommate who, frightened by the commotion, was running for the door. My thought, at the moment, was that this was some kind of an early morning initiation or rough house.

"But I could see that it was something worse than this. The old building continued to shake and groan. Looking out the gable window I saw the new library crush to the ground and soon hidden, all but its steel bird cage tower in a great cloud of mortar and dust. This, then, was really an earthquake and one of proportions. Quickly dressing we ran down the wooden stairs. And wanting to know what had happened we ran along the front facade which seemed to be undamaged and stopped at the great Arch which was badly shattered, on to the Zoology Department where the marble statue of Agassiz had taken a nose dive from the second story and plunged itself up to the shoulders in the concrete walk."

Leo L. Stanley, a Stanford student



Library, Stanford University



"The (library) was a large building with a central dome of structural steel, which in its vibrations knocked down the two three-story wings. Beyond this was the gymnasium, also new and unoccupied, which settled into a mass of ruins. Toward the west, the quad was badly shaken but the buildings did not fall. The church spire, however, was badly wrecked, and this I saw. A large chimney in the engineering group fell, but I do not recall having seen this. The library and gymnasium buildings were too completely wrecked to be restored."

Laurence M. Klauber, a Stanford sophomore

"It was not very long before saboteurs or souvenir hunters began work. A woman was caught getting away with a part of leaded window containing the face of Christ which she had broken out of a fallen Memorial Church window. A student guard, authorized by University authorities, was then placed around the Quadrangle."

Edgar C. Smith



Memorial Chapel, Stanford University



Courthouse at Santa Rosa



"During the following summer, a Stanford geology class surveyed the fault for 198 miles, from south of Salinas to some place up in Humboldt County. The greatest slippage was found near Santa Rosa, a distance of sixteen feet eight inches, as I remember it. The story was it happened in front of a small house where a man had a lawn in front and a patch of berries to the side. After the quake the berries were in front of the house. The pipe line from the Spring Valley Reservoir to San Francisco was across the fault in two places; one place it was crushed together and the other place pulled apart eight feet. The fault went into the ocean near Colma, south of San Francisco, and came back on land in Bolinas Bay, about thirty miles north of the Golden Gate and continued on north up to beyond Santa Rosa."

Edgar C. Smith

St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Second Street, San Jose





San Fernando Street, San Jose

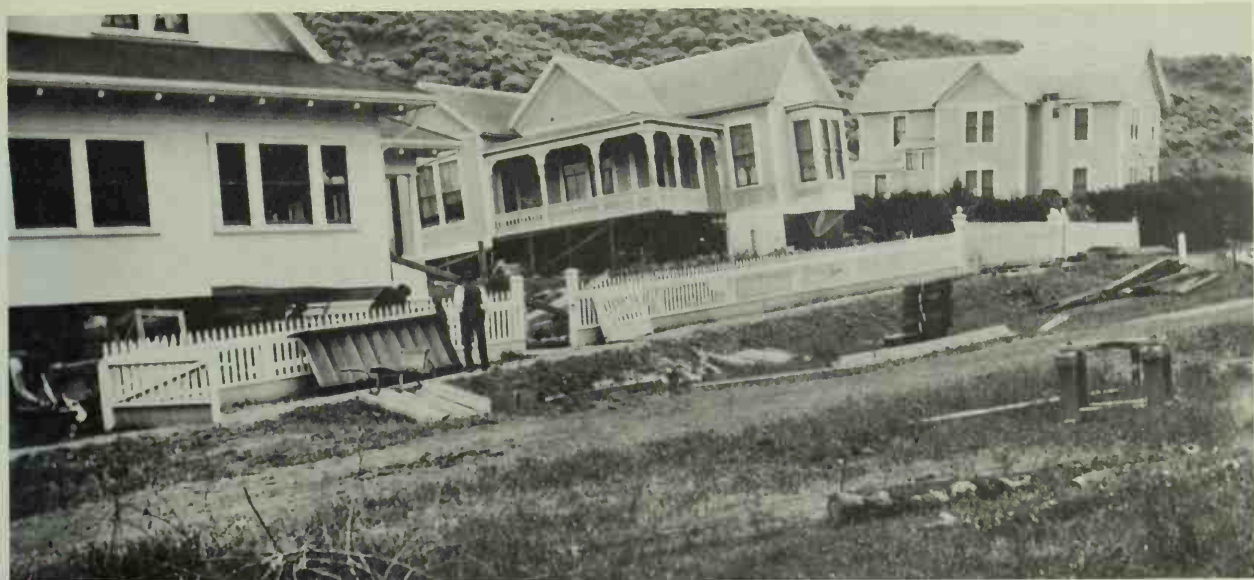


Vendome Hotel, San Jose



"No one in Sausalito has been injured, fortunately, but most of us are in much the same condition as the chimneys."

Charles M. Woods



Bolinas, Marin



"The only damage to our belongings was a China Cabinet. It held all of my mother's best China, which held the Passover Dishes, used only once a year, for one week only. It fell over, smashed all in it . . . Since my parents kept kosher we had no meat for a very long time. We lived on Bread, Sardines, and other canned fish . . ."





Ruins of Chinatown, Arnold Genthe photograph

"People cooked out of doors for about two months. They took their stoves in the street, built little houses around them. You ought to see how they looked. Almost every one had a name. Aunt Clara's was 'The Beanery,' some were called 'The Palace Hotel,' 'Fairmont Hotel,' 'Camp Appetite,' 'Camp Thankful,' 'Poodle Dog' . . . Some had signs on. One on our block read, 'If you are thirsty, go inside, there are springs in every bed.' As there was very little water to be had, it was a rather good saying. Another read:

'The cow is in the kitchen,
The cat in the Lake.
The children in the garbage pail
What difference does it make?'

Quite a number had written, 'Meals 25¢ but bring your own grub,' or 'meals at all hours.'"

Letter to Uncle John, Carrie A. Mangels





A refugee kitchen
entitled "Hoffman Cafe"



A mock menu
demonstrating refugee
humor offers "Raw Water"
& "Bean Sandwiches"



Van Ness Avenue, Geary to Post



"At first the business people moved to Fillmore Street and every store was rented and every available lot was leased and temporary stores put up. But now, Van Ness Avenue is the street . . . Temporary buildings are going up all over. As soon as the debris is cleared away a good many firms will build on their old sites in the downtown section."

Carrie Mangels

Earthquake and Fire

"The spirit of the San Franciscans immediately after the earthquake was the most wonderful expression of . . . unbroken courage and confidence in the future that has perhaps ever been shown by any race or set of people under similar circumstances. Populated by such a race there can be no doubt that San Francisco will rise like a Phenix (sic) from its ashes and ruins. As for myself, my love for San Francisco . . . has greatly intensified by my experiences during this calamity, and I hope it will be my good fortune to live there altogether within a few years – and the sooner the better."

Ernest Goerlitz



"Housecleaning Day," San Francisco, 1907

The new San Francisco, 1907



Notes

1. Charles Petit, "California's Staggering Earthquake County," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1979.
2. "The Earth Quaked . . . Everyone Was Upset," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 7, 1979.
3. William Bronson, *The Earth Shook, the Sky Burned*, (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1959), p. 19.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 24.
5. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake and Fire of April 18, 1906, and Their Effects on Structures and Structural Materials*, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1907), p. 19. This book also contains excellent diagrams and maps, as well as a section of "before and after" photographs of specific structures.
6. Bronson, *The Earth Shook*, p. 83.



7. A.P. Hotaling & Company, a wholesale liquor dealer, was located at 429-437 Jackson Street and was unscathed by the fire.

8. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake*, p. 2.

9. Helmut and Alison Gernsheim, *The History of Photography, 1685-1914* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 422.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 413-414.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 414.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 416.

13. U.S. Geological Survey, *The San Francisco Earthquake*, pp. 2-4.

14. California Historical Society Manuscript 3492, Letter to Helen, May 23, 1906.

15. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, (New York: Ballantine, 1978), Foreword.

16. California Historical Society Manuscript 3499, Reminiscences.

Harry Bridges and the Scholars



Attaining citizenship in 1945 did not release Bridges from his legal battles, which lasted into the mid-1950s. Here he measures the voluminous transcripts from the Bridges-Robertson-Schmidt trial (1950).

Harry Renton Bridges retired in 1977 amid the accolades of almost everyone associated with the West Coast shipping industry. Unionists, shippers, media people, government officials — all joined in a chorus of praise for the historic longshore leader, who had served as the first and only president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) for the preceding forty years and had led the coast's militant dock workers as they fought for their survival as unionists during the great maritime strikes of 1934 and 1936-1937. The 1930s had been turbulent years for Bridges and the longshoremen: the 1934 strike had, for a few days, swelled into a general protest strike in San Francisco after police killed two waterfront pickets; the 1936 strike had been marked by a bitter propaganda contest. But after a major longshore walkout in 1948, the shippers had finally decided to live with Bridges, and a "new look" had come to the waterfront. In 1960 Bridges negotiated an innovative mechanization and modernization agreement to cooperate with management so that the coast's port facilities might be modernized without continual industrial warfare. With the signing of that contract Bridges was hailed as a great labor statesman.

So the famous longshore leader became an ILWU pensioner in 1977 with the applause of his fellow unionists and former foes alike. In anticipation of his retirement he was treated to a grand testimonial dinner at the Fairmont Hotel in late 1975. Messages of congratulation were conveyed to him from such diverse sources as Leonard Woodcock, President of the

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Looking at History's Verdict

United Auto Workers; the United States Air Force Reserves; Nelson Rockefeller, Republican Vice-President of the United States; the Kerr Steamship Company; the managers of the six Bay Area ports; Frank Fitzsimmons, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters; and the Sea-Land container company. Robert J. Pfeiffer, President of the Matson Navigation Company, was among the many who spoke in praise of the retiring unionist.¹ By January 1978 Bridges was in Washington, D.C., at the invitation of officials of the National Portrait Gallery, to discuss with them the possibility that his picture might hang in that place of honor some day.² Bridges regarded these accolades with typical skepticism. Reflecting upon the public acclaim he had received since he left office in mid-1977, Bridges told a reporter that he had "noticed that when the old bastard's retiring, people say 'He's not so bad, after all.'"³

But of course Harry Bridges had not always enjoyed such public acceptance and high esteem. For much of the first thirty-five years of his life he had labored as an unsung sailor and longshoreman in an era when marine workers commanded little respect in polite society. He had been born Alfred Renton Bryant Bridges in a suburb of Melbourne, Australia, on July 28, 1901. As a youth he had rejected his father's real estate business and conservative politics and had instead followed the example of two uncles (especially Harry Renton, variously a sailor, miner, and pearl diver, whose name he eventually adopted) who championed the militant Australian trade union movement and its Labour Party. As a teenager, he had become a seaman, mingling on shipboard with Australian members of the American-born radical Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and, while at port in Melbourne, witnessing the tumultuous 1917 Australian general strike. Bridges had jumped ship at San Francisco in 1920, found employment in Ameri-

can vessels as a member of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, and briefly joined the IWW himself during a strike at New Orleans in 1921. The next year he had returned to San Francisco to settle as a longshoreman.⁴

In pursuing his new career Bridges found the conditions of labor on the City's waterfront to be among the world's worst. During his early years as a longshoreman, he was subjected to the favoritism and kickbacks that characterized the hiring of dock workers from an early morning gathering called "the shape-up." He worked the grueling all-day and all-night shifts at the unrelenting speed that caused an appalling number of waterfront accidents, and was himself twice injured.⁵ "If I had a chance to work I grabbed it," the retired longshore leader recalled recently, "even if it was twenty-four hours. I was hungry as a bastard."⁶ Bridges attempted to avoid the shipowners' "Blue Book," or company union, by moving continually from dock to dock in search of casual employment. Finally he joined in order to gain steady work. He became a member of one of the waterfront's hard-driving "star" gangs and gained a reputation as a stalwart longshoreman. But he never stopped thinking about the need for a rebirth of worker-controlled unionism. He was one of a number of activists who struggled successfully in the early 1930s to revive the defunct International Longshoremen's Association (ILA), the ILWU's predecessor on West Coast docks. Bridges actively participated when the rejuvenated ILA closed all Pacific Coast ports during the long and bloody 1934 strike, which ended with the replacement of the shape-up by a union-controlled hiring hall. In the course of that fateful strike, Bridges — who had a deserved waterfront reputation for honesty and militancy that he would keep throughout his career — emerged as the longshoremen's clear rank-and-file leader, in part for his advocacy of the general strike weapon, which had

been a favorite of IWWs in America and Australia alike before World War I.⁷

Honesty, militancy, leadership, and even fame, of course, hardly brought Harry Bridges the universal public acceptance and high esteem he would enjoy when he retired. Between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s federal government agencies made numerous attempts to deport the unionist — who had neglected to get his naturalization papers in order before he became famous — as an alien radical. For much of that twenty-year period Bridges was forced to defend himself in hearings and in court.⁸

Conservative agitation to expel Bridges as a member of the Communist Party, USA, began in 1934. His opponents pointed out that deportation was not technically a punishment for crime, but was merely an administrative process for the return of unwelcome aliens to their native countries, and could, at least theoretically, be easily effected. Following an investigation in 1936, though, Immigration and Naturalization Service officials reported that no basis existed for deportation proceedings against the labor leader. Nonetheless, Bridges was soon charged with belonging to an organization which sought to overthrow the government by force. A highly publicized deportation hearing was held on Angel Island near San Francisco in 1939. Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School was retained as trial examiner for the Department of Labor, which then had administrative jurisdiction in matters of immigration. The Supreme Court had recently determined that federal statute necessitated proof of membership in a proscribed organization at the time of arrest as reason for deportation. After eleven weeks of hearings, Landis decided that the evidence failed to show that Bridges had been a Communist Party member when the warrant for his arrest had been issued.

Unfortunately for Bridges, Congress soon enacted

the Alien Registration Act of 1940, known as the Smith Act, making *past* membership in organizations like the Communist Party reason for deportation. The next year he was subjected to another hearing, this time before Judge Charles B. Sears, trial examiner for the Department of Justice, which had recently taken over the Immigration and Naturalization Service from the Labor Department. Sears decided that Bridges was subject to deportation, and Attorney General Francis Biddle, who had final say for the Justice Department, agreed. Biddle ordered Bridges deported in 1942, but the complex set of appeals which followed landed the case in the Supreme Court. In 1945, by a vote of five to three, the Court held that Communist Party affiliation had not been proved. Later that year Bridges signed his naturalization papers after attesting that he had never been a member of the Communist Party. But when the McCarthy period dawned, the “everlasting Bridges case,” as it became known, was reopened. In April 1950 the longshore leader was found guilty of having given false testimony during his naturalization proceedings. He and his two witnesses in the oath-of-citizenship ceremonies, J.R. (Bob) Robertson and Henry Schmidt, both ILWU officials, were also convicted of conspiracy to defraud the government.

A few months later, while he awaited legal appeal, Bridges’ bail was revoked when U.S. District Court Judge George Harris, who had presided at the perjury trial, decided that the unionist was a danger to national security since he was critical of American intervention in the Korean war. Bridges was jailed for three weeks during August 1950 before being released under bail by the U.S. Court of Appeals. In 1953 the case reached the Supreme Court, which set aside the convictions of Bridges, Robertson, and Schmidt because their indictment had occurred over three years after the statute of limitations provided



Bridges (left) emerging from the San Francisco county jail after twenty-one days behind bars for criticizing United States entry into the Korean War. The unionist advocated letting the United Nations resolve the dispute through a cease fire and negotiations (1950).

for in such criminal cases. A final effort by the Justice Department to deport Bridges ended in 1955 when Judge Louis E. Goodman dismissed the department's civil action to denaturalize the ILWU President.

During the two decades of the Bridges hearings and trials, every phase of the labor leader's personal and union life was examined repeatedly. But in the end the government's prosecutors, who employed perjured witnesses with shocking regularity, failed to establish Bridges' membership in the Communist Party and were unable to achieve his deportation. Viewing the Bridges case when all of the proceedings were nearly completed, Milton R. Konvitz, an expert on the civil rights of immigrants, observed accurately

that the Bridges trials could be interpreted as "an instance of nineteen years of relentless persecution," and concluded that "it was our administration of justice that was on trial; and the verdict of history will probably be that, taking the case as a whole, as it extended over a period of nineteen years, it was America . . . that lost the case."⁹

From the perspective of time it is clear that Bridges was hounded for years by American government officials and others who clamored for his deportation because, as CIO President Philip Murray insisted pointedly in 1945, the longshore leader "was 'guilty' of the 'crime' of organizing the unorganized."¹⁰ But there was obviously more to it than that. Bridges was



Picket parade on the San Francisco waterfront during the first day of the great West Coast longshore strike, May 9, 1934. Bridges is immediately in front of the closest sign marked "Don't Scab, I.L.A."

not the only aggressive organizer in the 1930s. Yet he was an extraordinarily successful, opinionated, and well-known labor leader from 1934 on, and so, as an alien who was slow to become a naturalized citizen, he presented an inviting target to all opponents of labor on the march, which he symbolized. The specific charge of Communist Party membership came easily because of his tolerance of Communist unionists and his outspoken political views.

The so-called evidence against him was repeated over the years by Bridges' opponents and by many indifferent observers who unquestioningly accepted it. Bridges admitted belonging to the IWW as a youth in the early 1920s, even though he had soon given up his association with that organization because he thought its advocacy of anarchism and its neglect of collective bargaining impractical. He had accepted aid from the Communist-affiliated Marine Workers Industrial Union before and during the 1934 strike, and always insisted afterwards that he would have taken aid from *anyone* in that period of struggle for his union's very survival. He tolerated and even welcomed Communist Party members in the longshore union, frequently observing that they always seemed to make good unionists. He supported numerous unpopular political causes, including Upton Sinclair's losing "End Poverty in California" (EPIC) campaign for the governorship of the Golden State in 1934, the United Labor Party's unsuccessful

left-liberal bid for the San Francisco mayoralty in 1935,¹¹ and Henry A. Wallace's ill-fated anti-Cold War Progressive Party candidacy for the presidency of the United States on the verge of the McCarthy period in 1948. He was never reluctant to elaborate on his belief that there was a class struggle during the Depression: "We as workers have nothing in common with the employers," he told an audience gathered at the University of Washington in the mid-1930s. "We are in a class struggle, and we subscribe to the belief that if the employer is not in business his products will still be necessary and we still will be providing them when there is no employing class. We frankly believe that day is coming."¹² More important, he openly expressed interest in the Soviet experiment, favored a Western-Soviet alliance against fascism in the latter 1930s, condoned the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact and called for U.S. neutrality in the European war during 1939-1941, and then demanded all-out American support for the beleaguered Russians after Hitler's June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union. As Richard L. Neuberger wrote in 1939, to millions of Americans no one so epitomized "labor revolt and extremism" as Harry Bridges. To many he was "the national bogeyman, a symbol within our own country of revolutionary tendencies and dangerous ideas."¹³

Yet in the 1930s, when many historians — still

influenced by Charles Beard's economic interpretation of history — were sympathetic to the new unions, labor scholars seemed resistant to the kind of red-baiting of Bridges found in nonacademic books like Paul Eliel's chronicle of the 1934 strike, which appeared soon after the crisis. Eliel, an employee of the business community's San Francisco Industrial Association, condemned Bridges as a man "who later was proved to have had strong Communistic leanings if not actually Communistic connections."¹⁴ By the end of the decade such lurid popular books as Martin Dies's *The Trojan Horse in America* and Eugene Lyons' *The Red Decade*, which represented Harry Bridges as the Joseph Stalin of American ship-ping, made Eliel seem moderate by comparison.¹⁵ Some of the earliest publications by professional scholars, however, were quite balanced in their treatment of Bridges and his movement. "Whether Bridges is or is not a Communist is extremely difficult to prove," wrote the University of California's Paul S. Taylor and Norman L. Gold in an article printed a few weeks after the 1934 strike. "Certainly neither the marine strike nor the [San Francisco] general strike were basically 'communist strikes.' . . . In 1934 the presence of Communists on the scene . . . [was] seized upon to defeat aggressive, but essentially orthodox unions and unionists."¹⁶ In the spring of 1935 Richard T. La Piere, a Stanford University sociologist, characterized Bridges as a genuine rank-and-file leader, "not in any way a communist," even though he seemed to believe "that under conditions as they now exist, labor and capital are opposed."¹⁷ Edward Levinson, a journalist and CIO writer whose 1938 classic, *Labor on the March*, was seriously regarded by labor scholars, presented a sympathetic and stirring view of the Pacific Coast longshore union's gains under Bridges' leadership.¹⁸ Finally, late in the decade Philip Taft commented on the longshore leader in a pioneering study of the

problems facing the nation's new CIO unions. The famous labor scholar was cautious in assessing the recent rift in Pacific Coast maritime union solidarity. "The chief complaint of the West Coast sailors," Taft reported guardedly, "seems to be that Harry Bridges was too close to the Communists."¹⁹

After the Second World War, however, scholarly opinion began to shift against Bridges. The consensus generation of writers, influenced by the Cold War preoccupations of the larger society, were by and large hostile to those who openly admired the Soviet Union or who were identified with the left. Inside the labor movement itself the beginning of the American postwar anti-Communist crusade was heralded by late 1946. At the CIO's national convention President Philip Murray — who had defended Bridges a few months before for patriotic contributions to the war effort and had pledged that "the CIO will continue its aggressive campaign in the defense of Mr. Bridges"²⁰ — introduced a resolution disavowing communist union control. Bridges' war-time support of labor's no-strike pledge, which the Communist Party had also favored, became an issue, as did his support of the 1948 Henry Wallace campaign, which the CIO officially opposed. During that same election year Murray fired Bridges as CIO Regional Director for Northern California, and in 1950 the CIO purged its leading left-wing unions, including Bridges' ILWU, to demonstrate its opposition to Communism.

In the scholarly world a similar hostility was displayed early, with the publication in 1947 of James O Neal and Professor G. A. Werner's *American Communism*, which referred to the "activities of many Communist Party members to capture the [Los Angeles] C.I.O. unions with the support of Bridges," who was characterized as a "faithful follower of the 'party line.'"²¹ One of the most heated attacks upon Bridges came from the labor analyst

Sidney Lens, whose 1949 book, *Left, Right and Center*, commanded much attention. Lens called Bridges a "Stalinist follower from way back" and, in criticizing the no-strike pledge, charged that such Stalinists had been "ready to give up any and all of labor's hard won rights to defend the Russian bureaucracy."²²

The identification of Bridges with Stalinism was assumed by most labor scholars in the 1950s and early 1960s. Like the popular writer Sam Stavidsky, whose "Communist Penetration of the CIO" appeared in 1950, academics like Max M. Kampelman²³ came to rely heavily upon coincidence and insinuation to establish the longshore leader's association with the Communist Party. Many scholars focused exclusively upon the issue of Bridges' political affiliation. Jane Cassels Record, for example, devoted several pages of her 1954 dissertation to establishing that "the parallelism of Bridges' policies with those of the Communist Party over time is persuasive,"²⁴ and went on to argue that Bridges' whole world view was Stalinist. Among those who came to assume that Bridges followed the party line were some of the leading scholars of the day, including Daniel Bell, Wytze Gorter, George H. Hildebrand, Irving Howe, Lewis Coser, Bernard Karsh, Philips L. Garman, David A. Shannon, David J. Saposs, Walter Galenson, and Nathan Glazer.²⁵ A few authors, like Joseph P. Goldberg, who merely wrote that Bridges was "influenced by the tactics and philosophy of the Communist Party,"²⁶ were cautious in their approach, but others, like Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., who characterized Bridges as a man "without scruples" who "rarely deviated from the Communist line,"²⁷ were not.

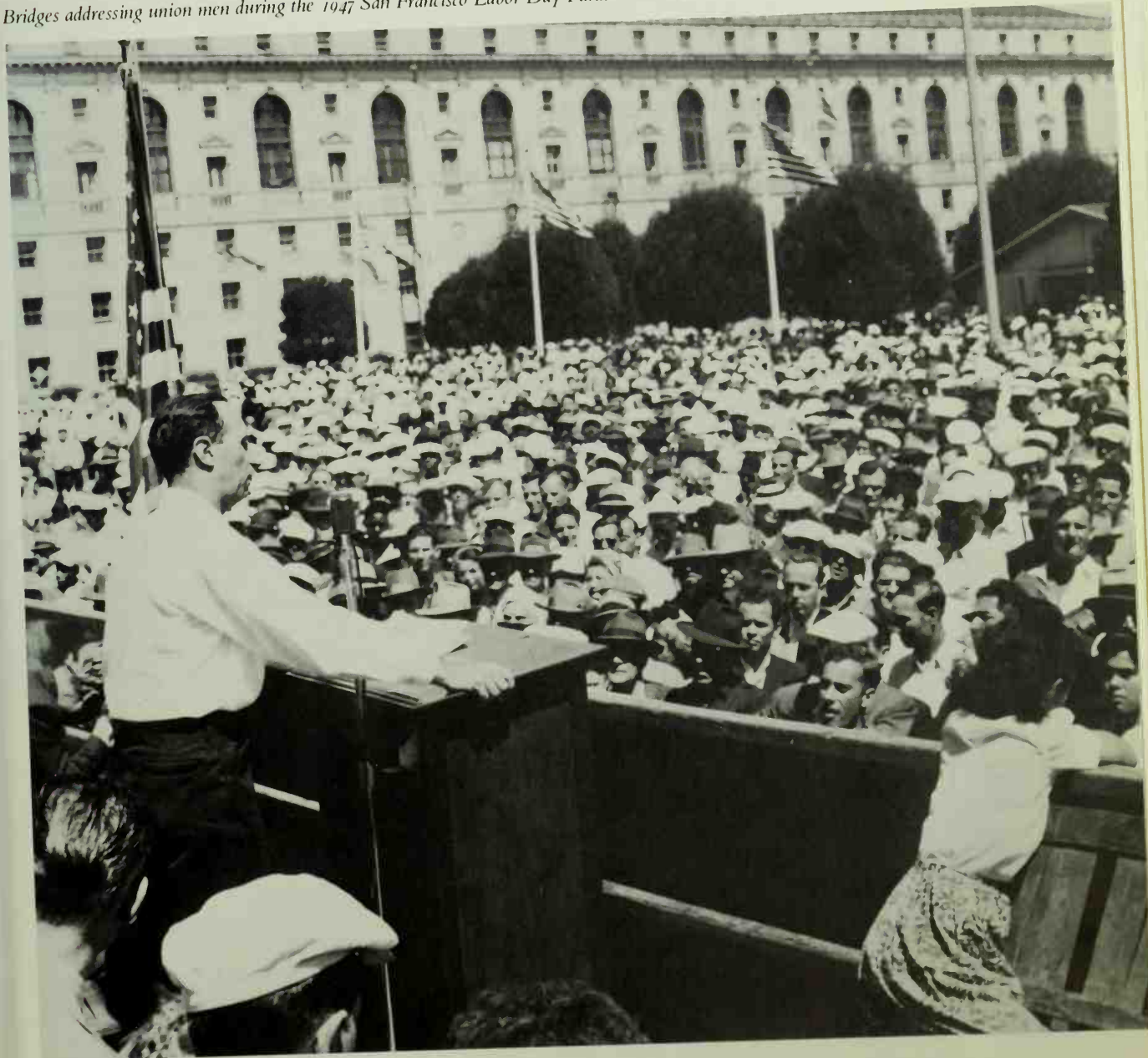
In the mid-1960s, with the bitterness of the McCarthy period abating, scholars began to modify their view of Bridges. Philip Taft, for example, wrote in 1964 that although "Bridges followed the

line of the Communist Party," the longshore leader had "never neglected his trade union work; his members have the best conditions of any longshoremen in the world." Taft also depicted Bridges as "one of the more able unionists of the last three decades."²⁸ Two books by the well-known labor writer Paul Jacobs clearly reflected the extent of changing attitudes toward Bridges. In 1963 Jacobs, an ex-Trotskyist, described his role in helping to prepare the CIO's brief recommending the 1950 expulsion of the longshore union. "I must admit," Jacobs wrote, "much as I hate to provide Bridges with ammunition to prove the assertions he made at the time, that there was very little due process in the trial."²⁹ Two years later Jacobs revealed that long after the CIO purge he had become "obsessed with Harry Bridges, as if a constant war were going on inside me, one side still reacting to the way I thought he'd followed the twists and turns in the Communist line, and the other side filled with guilt for the way in which I had helped push him out of the CIO."³⁰ Fifteen years after America's anti-Communist crusade, then, even one of Bridges' old enemies was ready to concede that the longshore leader had been treated unfairly in the 1950s.

Perhaps a similar sense of guilt for the unfair treatment Bridges had received at the hands of the government and of historians accounts for the moderation in recent scholarly assessments. In *Turbulent Years*, a major history of the 1930s published in 1970, Irving Bernstein presented a carefully balanced account of Bridges' early career, even if he concluded that the unionist "worked with Communists, he hired them, he sought the help of the Communist Party and its instrumentalities, and he often, though by no means always, adopted their ideas and followed their line."³¹ Charles P. Larrowe, in his 1972 biography of Bridges, described at length the many government efforts to deport the longshore leader. In

Harry Bridges

Bridges addressing union men during the 1947 San Francisco Labor Day Parade ceremonies.



so doing, he was very careful, as he had been in his earlier works in the field, to avoid emotionally charged anti-Communist statements.³² In his provocative book on the American Communist Party's problems during 1943-1957, also published in 1972, Joseph R. Starobin, an ex-Communist turned political science professor, acknowledged Bridges' independence. Bridges, Starobin wrote, "was never a Communist." If the longshore leader "enjoyed intimate ties with the Party" it was "usually on his own terms."³³ Reviewing the CIO purge of the ILWU in

a recent dissertation, James R. Prickett convincingly emphasized the "serious shortcomings of the CIO's case."³⁴ Interestingly, though, Bert Cochran, a union activist become academic, seemed to echo earlier scholars in his 1977 study of labor and communism. He stressed that "sociologically" Bridges "was an ally of the Communists, conferred with Communist leaders, adhered to Communist policy, and helped build up the Communist faction inside his union."³⁵

In 1979, two years after Bridges' retirement and a quarter of a century after his last deportation trial, a



Bridges, Henry Schmidt, and J. R. (Bob) Robertson at the end of their conspiracy trial (1953).

full, objective assessment of the man's career is both possible and necessary. What has characterized previous scholarly treatments of Bridges, both intemperate and restrained, is an excessive focus on the issue of his relationship with the Communist Party and the government's case against him, whereas what we need to understand is his place in and contribution to the American labor movement.

In assessing his union leadership, we do not really need to establish whether Bridges was a member of the Communist Party at some time in his life. (For the record, in January 1978 Bridges still insisted, as he had for decades, that "ninety-five percent of the evidence against me was absolutely true. But one thing I didn't do, I didn't happen to be affiliated with the Communist Party."³⁶) Regardless of his political affiliations, throughout his long career the welfare of his union was always Bridges' primary concern, and his willingness to accommodate to life with the ship-owners to further the union's cause was evident from the 1930s on. He admitted long ago that collective bargaining was "class collaboration," but he became expert at it soon after the 1934 strike. Discussing the mechanization and modernization agreement of 1960, and his acceptance of wage guarantees and retirement benefits in exchange for the elimination of longshore jobs by the containerization of cargo handling, Bridges confided recently that "in classical Marxist terms . . . it could be called a sellout. There's no class struggle in it. . . . It did lead to certain strains with the Communist Party. In typical ideological terms, of course, they're right. But the union is a bit more practical."³⁷ This sort of practicality, and not ideology, characterized Bridges' career as a unionist from the start.

It is possible to argue that, far from being an ideologue or a revolutionist, Bridges was in some respects a rather traditional trade unionist. At the end of the 1930s he explained that he had rejected the

IWW during his early years in part because its "philosophy was never to sign an agreement . . . never to arbitrate; never to mediate; never to consolidate"³⁸ in traditional trade union style. In 1940 he was critical of efforts the Communists had made to organize the waterfront in 1932, since the Party, he argued, had offered complex revolutionary theory when bread-and-butter trade unionism was what was needed. "The men," Bridges said, "weren't afraid to fight for things that were right before their eyes, such as an extra ten or fifteen cents an hour. But they didn't understand these other things." Instead of joining the Party's Marine Workers Industrial Union, he had followed his own unchanging strategy, which was "to organize into unions as a class party, not a revolutionary party, and to improve the conditions of these men without changing the nature of the government."³⁹ At the same point late in the Depression he also outlined the current class struggle as he saw it: it was "not a question of whether you believe it or not, it is a question of facts that are before you," he insisted; and then he added, "The only thing I see to do about it right now is to organize the trade unions and we will head off a little bit of it."⁴⁰ Bridges' basic answer to the social ills of the day — to unionize the workers — was a legal solution, and if it did "head off a little bit" of the class struggle, it might even be viewed as a conservative solution.

If he was unique in the American labor movement, his uniqueness lay in his effort to achieve labor unity on the widest possible scale. He aimed, for example, to organize all of the marine trades into a Maritime Federation of the Pacific, which he helped found in 1935. Though interunion conflict doomed this federation within a few years, Irving Bernstein, for one, saw what Bridges had hoped for. "As one looks back upon those turbulent years between 1934 and 1938," he wrote, "it is evident that only one man had the

vision of unity — Bridges. His aspiration, at the outset for the West Coast in the ill-fated Maritime Federation of the Pacific, and ultimately for all coasts, was to unify the offshore and longshore crafts into a powerful industrial union."⁴¹ Later Bridges continued to search for the widest possible basis of cooperation among transportation unions, but never with the success he sought. His support of a Committee for Maritime Unity shortly after World War II was challenged as a Communist ploy. In recent years, when he investigated the possibilities of uniting his union either with the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association or with the Teamsters, he was criticized within his own union for proposing alliances with corrupt organizations. Despite failures and criticism, however, Bridges was always conscious of the potential power of a united industry-wide movement.

But his vision of labor unity went beyond that of John L. Lewis and traditional trade unionism in America. He saw the struggle of labor as international and ultimately political, and this global vision is the key to Bridges' controversial and outspoken stands on American foreign policy. His shifting stance toward world affairs in the late 1930s, for example, his opposition to the Cold War, the Marshall Plan, and to American involvement in Korea and later in Vietnam, were expressions of the same world view that led him in 1950 to accept the uncoveted position as Honorary President of the maritime unit of the Soviet-sponsored World Federation of Trade Unions. We do not need to look to the American Communist Party to find the sources of his internationalism: it most likely began with his impressions of the militant Australian labor movement and with the influence of his uncle Harry Renton, whom he recalled recently as "a strong pro-labor, pro-socialist person;" it no doubt was confirmed by his six years as a shipboard worker among seamen of all

nations; it found in the Australian and American IWW a compatible vision of a better world for workers everywhere. Interestingly, while native-born leaders of labor in America and in California often thought mainly of the movement in local, regional, or national terms, in 1979, as throughout his career, Bridges still emphasized that strong American unions had "a responsibility for the welfare of workers in other countries."⁴²

If parallels existed between Bridges' political views and the party line of the American Communists, historians miss the point even if they describe the unionist as a "fellow traveller." In fact, the party appears to have been Bridges' fellow traveller, since, like John L. Lewis, Bridges used its resources — he encouraged the support of the party's newspaper in 1934, for example, when all other media facilities were against the maritime strikers — during the early organizing days. Party writers have insisted that Communist aid was crucial to the early success of the longshore union,⁴³ and there may be some truth to the claim. But while Bridges accepted Communist assistance in the mid-1930s, he never relinquished control of union policy to the party. When he felt that the ILWU's interests differed from the party's, he unhesitatingly pursued the union's cause, as in negotiating the mechanization and modernization agreement. Although he was never afraid to take a position which resembled the party's when he agreed with that position, to the end of his active career he remained an independent leftist whose trade union philosophy was distinguished by practicality and internationalism.

The photograph on page 70 is courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. All other photographs are courtesy of the ILWU Dispatcher.

Bridges, as outspoken and undaunted as ever, addressing a Labor Action Committee demonstration against "Nixonomics," San Francisco, April 28, 1973. Standing to the right of Bridges, with clasped hands, is James Herman, who succeeded Bridges as ILWU President in 1977. Members of the ILWU Drill Team are in the foreground.



Notes

1. Harry Bridges, the Man: Testimonial Dinner (San Francisco: Brougham Enterprises, November 29, 1975), pp. 1, 7, 15, 16, 21, 24, 28.
2. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978.
3. *San Francisco Chronicle*, July 2, 1978.
4. Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp. 252-253; Charles P. Larrowe, *Harry Bridges: The Rise and Fall of Radical Labor in the United States* (New York: Lawrence Hill, 1972), pp. 3-8; Bruce Minton and John Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1937), pp. 172-177; Theodore Dreiser, "The Story of Harry Bridges," Part 1, *Friday Magazine*, October 4, 1940, pp. 1-3. For background on Australia's militant labor tradition around World War I, see Ian Turner, *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921* (Canberra, Australia: Australian National University, 1965), and Ian Bedford, "The One Big Union, 1918-1923," in *Initiative and Organization*, by Ian Bedford and Ross Curnow (Melbourne, Australia: F. W. Cheshire, 1963), pp. 5-43.
5. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, pp. 253-255; Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, pp. 8-10; Minton and Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, pp. 177-180; Dreiser, "Harry Bridges," p. 5.
6. Harry Bridges, conversation with the author, Fifth Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, California State University, Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, April 20, 1979.
7. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, pp. 256-261; Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*, pp. 10-29; Minton and Stuart, *Men Who Lead Labor*, pp. 180-202; Dreiser, "Harry Bridges," pp. 5-7; Turner, *Industrial Labour*, pp. 62, 150, 159.
8. The following summary of the Bridges hearings and trials is largely dependent upon Milton R. Konvitz, *Civil Rights in Immigration* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1953), pp. 114-122. Also helpful among the extensive writings on the Bridges deportation proceedings were the accounts in Estolv E. Ward, *Harry Bridges on Trial* (New York: Modern Age Books, 1940); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, *The Everlasting Bridges Case* (San Francisco: ILWU, 1955); Vincent Hallinan, *A Lion in Court* (New York: Putnam, 1963); International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, *The ILWU Story: Three Decades of Militant Unionism*, 2nd ed., rev. (San Francisco: ILWU, 1963); Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*; and Dorene Askin, "Historical Report, Angel Island Immigration Station," State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, Interpretive Planning Unit, Sacramento, June 3, 1977.
9. Konvitz, *Civil Rights in Immigration*, pp. 120-121.
10. Philip Murray, *The Harry Bridges Case: A Foreword to the Famous Dissenting Opinion of Judge William Healy and Judge Garrecht of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth District* (San Francisco: Harry Bridges Victory Committee, 1945), p. 1.
11. [James McCauley Landis], *In the Matter of Harry Reuton Bridges: Findings and Conclusions of the Trial Examiner* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 124-126, 130-131; U.S., Department of Justice, *Harry Bridges before the Attorney General in Deportation Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 13-17; *Waterfront Worker* (San Francisco), August 12, 1935, and September 23, 1935; Richard A. Liebes, "Longshore Labor Relations on the Pacific Coast, 1934-1942" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1942), pp. 59-61; Harvey Schwartz, "The March Inland: The Warehouse Organizing Drive of the Pacific Coast Longshore Union, 1934-1938" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1975), p. 53, and *The March Inland: Origins of the ILWU Warehouse Division 1934-1938* (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, 1978), p. 34.
12. Richard L. Neuberger, *Our Promised Land* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), p. 217, and "Bad Man Bridges," *Forum*, April 1939, p. 195.
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14. Paul Eliel, *The Waterfront and General Strikes, San Francisco, 1934* (San Francisco: Hooper, 1934), p. 28.
15. Martin Dies, *The Trojan Horse in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1940), pp. 176-195; Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade: The Stalinist Penetration of America* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941), pp. 219-234.
16. Paul S. Taylor and Norman Leon Gold, "San Francisco and the General Strike," *Survey Graphic*, September 1934, p. 411. See also Paul S. Taylor, "The San Francisco General Strike," *Pacific Affairs* 7 (September 1934): 271-278.
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18. Edward Levinson, *Labor on the March* (New York: University Books, 1938), pp. 261-264.
19. Philip Taft, "Some Problems of the New Unionism in the United States," *American Economic Review* 29 (June 1939): 321. See also Taft, "Strife in the Maritime Industry," *Political Science Quarterly* 54 (June 1939): 223.
20. Murray, *Harry Bridges Case*, p. 5.
21. James Oneal and G. A. Werner, *American Communism: A Critical Analysis of its Origins, Development and Programs* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1947), pp. 232, 312.

22. Sidney Lens, *Left, Right and Center: Conflicting Forces in American Labor* (Hinsdale, Illinois: Henry Regnery, 1949), pp. 344-345.
23. Sam Stavidsky, "Communist Penetration of the CIO," in *American Labor Unions*, ed. by Herbert L. Marx, Jr. (New York: H. H. Wilson, 1950), pp. 164-170; Max M. Kampelman, *The Communist Party vs. the C.I.O.: A Study in Power Politics* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), pp. 199-215.
24. Jane Cassels Record, "Ideologies and Trade Union Leadership: The Case of Harry Bridges and Harry Lundeberg" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1954), p. 23.
25. Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 145; Wytze Gorter and George H. Hildebrand, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Shipping Industry, 1930-1948*, Vol. II: *An Analysis of Performance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), pp. 271-276; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1957), pp. 370-371; Bernard Karsh and Philips L. Garman, "The Impact of the Political Left," in *Labor and the New Deal*, ed. by Milton Delber and Edwin Young (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), pp. 98-99; David A. Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism: A History of the Communist Party of the United States since 1945* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959), p. 104; David J. Saposs, *Communism in American Unions* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), pp. 131-133; Walter Galenson, *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement, 1935-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 431, 445; Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1961), pp. 108-111, 126-127.
26. Joseph P. Goldberg, *The Maritime Story: A Study in Labor-Management Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), p. 146.
27. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt*, Vol II: *The Coming of the New Deal* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), p. 390.
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29. Paul Jacobs, *The State of the Unions* (New York: Atheneum, 1963), p. 9.
30. Paul Jacobs, *Is Curly Jewish? A Political Self-Portrait Illuminating Three Turbulent Decades of Social Revolt, 1935-1965* (New York: Atheneum, 1965), p. 229.
31. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, p. 259. See also Bernstein, pp. 251-259.
32. Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*. See also Larrowe, *Shape-Up and Hiring Hall: A Comparison of Hiring Methods and Labor Relations on the New York and Seattle Waterfronts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part 1," *Labor History* 11 (Fall 1970): 403-451, and "The Great Maritime Strike of '34: Part 2," *Labor History* 11 (Winter 1971): 3-37.
33. Joseph R. Starobin, *American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 258n.
34. James Robert Prickett, "Communists and the Communist Issue in the American Labor Movement, 1920-1950" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1975), pp. 406-407.
35. Bert Cochran, *Labor and Communism: The Conflict That Shaped American Unions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 89. One recent "anti-Stalinist" discussion of Bridges and the ILWU reads like the Trotskyist literature of the 1940s. See Andrew Bonthuis, "Origins of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union," *Southern California Quarterly* 59 (Winter 1977): 379-426.
36. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978.
37. *New York Times*, January 18, 1978. For provocative, recent, and critical assessments of the mechanization and modernization agreement by a union loyalist, see Herb Mills, "The San Francisco Waterfront: The Social Consequence of Industrial Modernization, Part Two: 'The Modern Longshore Operations,'" *Urban Life* 6 (April 1977): 3-32, and *The San Francisco Waterfront: Labor/Management Relations - On the Ships and Docks, Part Two: Modern Longshore Operations* (Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, University of California, 1978).
38. Landis, *In the Matter of Harry Renton Bridges*, p. 123.
39. Drieser, "Harry Bridges," p. 7.
40. Landis, *In the Matter of Harry Renton Bridges*, p. 128.
41. Bernstein, *Turbulent Years*, p. 589.
42. Harry Bridges, "Recollections from the Labor Movement," keynote speech, Fifth Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, California State University, Dominguez Hills, Carson, California, April 20, 1979.
43. William F. Dunne, *The Great San Francisco Maritime General Strike* (New York: Workers Library Publishers, October 1934), pp. 8-9; William Schneiderman, *The Pacific Coast Maritime Strike* (San Francisco: Western Workers Publishers, March 1937), pp. 22, 30; Herb Tank, *Communists on the Waterfront* (New York: New Century Publishers May 1946), pp. 35, 67; Mike Quin, *The Big Strike* (Olema, California: Olema Publishing, 1949), pp. 39-40, 46; William Z. Foster, *History of the Communist Party of the United States* (New York: International Publishers, 1952), p. 301.

REVIEWS

Charles Wollenberg, *Reviews Editor*

Books for Budding History Buffs

The best way to introduce children to the story of California is to take them to sites where our history has been preserved. Dry facts become real events when a child can examine a reconstructed Indian temescal, wander among boxes and barrels of goods in the old Monterey Customs House, or roam the streets of Bodie. However, it is not always easy for parents or schools to travel about the state to historic places. Children must turn to books to provide their knowledge of California.

The years between the third and sixth grades are an excellent time to encourage youngsters to begin what may turn into a life-long study. They read well alone, their natural curiosity has yet to become blunted, and they all love a rousing good story.

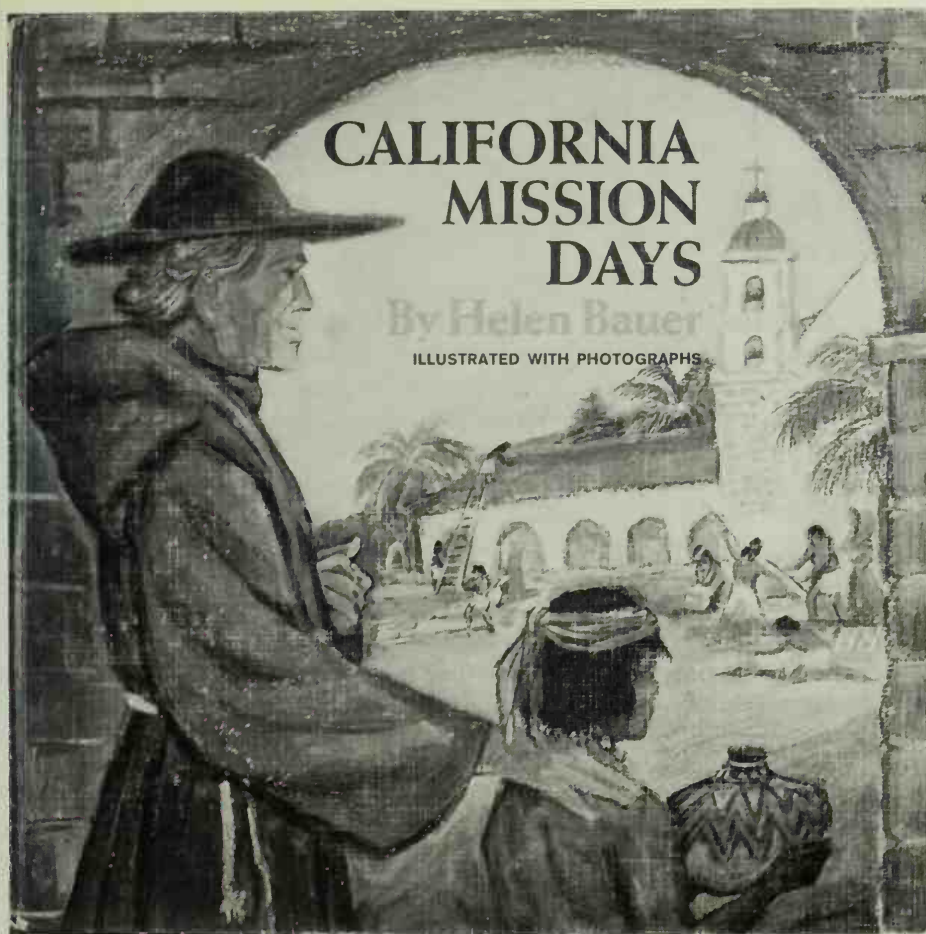
Unfortunately, most of the readily available books for this level were written without any in-depth study of the life of California Indians and the harmony they achieved with nature. Similarly, the problems and contributions of Mexicans, Californios, Asians, Chicanos and Blacks have been ignored, or their experiences are portrayed in tired, stereotyped ways.

However, all is not lost. Until we are able to inspire new efforts to meet modern needs for better children's books on California we can use some of the good older works and select from others those facts and stories which will add to the knowledge of today's children.

Following below is a survey of a variety of the most useful non-fiction books which are easily obtainable for elementary school students. These works are generally included in the collections of both school and public city libraries, and are located near one another in the library section on California.

There is an appalling lack of general histories writ-

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California Mission Days, by Helen Bauer is a child's history of the mission system and the clergy who instituted it.

ten specifically for the younger student. One of the few is, fortunately, an excellent book. *California Pageant*, (1955) by Robert Cleland is a scholarly work suitable for the advanced fifth grader or those in the sixth grade. It provides background material which is most important for the beginning history student. It covers such topics as reform, labor, agriculture, anti-Asian prejudice, etc. All are examined thoroughly enough to give the reader a good understanding of events and attitudes through the years. This would be an excellent book to keep on hand for reference use.

To take a look at the life of the first inhabitants of California we can begin with Helen Bauer's *Indians of California*, (1963). This is an easy-to-read book which will give the younger reader some idea of how the Indians lived before contact with the white man. It is illustrated with photographs which show customs

and practices that help a child to appreciate cultures which existed for thousands of years without significant interruption.

For a closer study of a particular group of Indians there is a fine book on regional Indian life, Malcolm Margolin's *The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area*, (1978). This book can be read alone by older elementary students and can also be used successfully with younger children under adult supervision. Selected passages can be read aloud and interpreted while the marvelous Michael Harney drawings aid discussion of the rich, full life of the Indians.

Of course, *Ishi in Two Worlds*, (1961) by Theodora Kroeber is still a must for the fifth or sixth grade reader. The version for younger children, *Ishi, Man of His Tribe*, is not as useful nor does it give as much insight into the reality of life for Ishi, both before and

after his surrender to the new world he was forced to accept to survive. It would be a shame for any youngster to miss reading *Ishi in Two Worlds* because he or she has read the lesser work first.

Also for the older reader is John Terrell's *The Discovery of California*, (1970). This is a good study of the Spanish exploration. It follows the voyages made north from Mexico during the years 1538-1603, and gives added background to the Spanish interest in California. It is not for the casual reader, nor the very young.

There is a need for a good children's book examining the functions and influence of the mission system and the clergy who instituted it. There is little written for children on the impact that the missions had upon the Indians and their culture. Often mission books are merely travel books of limited use. Of these, the new edition of the Sunset book, *The California Missions*, (1979) and Helen Bauer's *California Mission Days*, (1951) are probably the best.

Nor is there a good non-fiction account which deals with the life of the native born Californios, those who gave their loyalty to California rather than to Mexico. Californios are usually lumped together with the Spanish presence and lose their separate identity. Their way of life and the devastating effect on it of the Gold Rush and the succeeding population booms is rarely presented to children. This is only one example of the absence of good studies on many of the groups of people who were important to the development of California.

The era of the Gold Rush has evoked much more interest on the part of authors, and most literary collections are liberally endowed with books on California during this time of excitement, change and growth. Two of these seem to be on every shelf. Both are generally well written, profusely illustrated and fun to use. *The Golden Book of California*, (1961) by Irwin Shapiro ignores almost any mention of

pre-Spanish history, but is quite useful in conjunction with other works. It is easily read by the third grader and is fun to study at leisure. The many colorful illustrations and maps scattered throughout round out the narrative with visual interest.

The American Heritage Junior Library's *The California Gold Rush*, (1961) is the other volume found everywhere. It has a matter of fact approach which seems especially pleasing to today's youngsters. The drama of California history comes from the events themselves, not from elaborate prose. The editors have used quotes from diaries and accounts of the time which lend an air of immediacy and give insights as to how the argonauts viewed their quest and their fellow miners. This is also one of the few books which admits that there were women in the gold fields. There is a chapter devoted to Louise Clappe's letters home, "The Dame Shirley Letters of 1851-52." This adventurous woman adds a feminine point of view of life in the northern mines. There is some small coverage of the Chinese experiences at the hands of the miners.

For those particularly interested in the gold era, Paul Wellman's *Gold in California*, (1958) gives a succinct history of gold as a prize through the ages, explains various techniques used to extract ore and retells anecdotes current at the time. Lorence Bjorklund's drawings capture the look of the land, the people, the tools and equipment of the Gold Rush.

The Fools of '49: The California Gold Rush 1848-56, (1976) by Lawrence Scidman is another excellent book that gives much more than dry historical facts. Scidman covers the Gold Rush using original letters, diaries, songs, papers, speeches, etc. with background comment interspersed. This work will appeal mostly to the older child. It provides good information on Indians, the Californios, the Chinese, as well as gold related events.

There are many more fictional works which tell the story of the pioneer families who came to stay in California, but one book that is widely used in schools tells a true story. *To California by Covered Wagon*, (1954) by George Stewart is based on a manuscript by Moses Shallenberger written in 1885. He wrote of his trip west some 40 years earlier. Stewart retells the adventures of the boy and the party's travels. However, it is written in a style which is somewhat dated today, but popular in the 1950s. Many children like the story, but not the book. At any rate, there is much accurate information that can be garnered about life on the long journey from Missouri in the 1840s.

On the other hand, Margaret Sutton's *Palace Wagon Family: a True Story of the Donner Party*, (1957) is usually well received by young readers. As she tells her story Sutton never loses the child's viewpoint. She captures Virginia Reed's lightheartedness at the beginning of the journey, her boredom as the days dragged on, the mounting tension and fear as even the children realize their desperate situation, and the change in those who survived. All in all, an excellent way for a sensitive child to better understand the rigors and hardships of the trips west.

After the excitement of the Gold Rush years and the sufferings of the pioneers, there seems to have been little to interest writers of California history for children. One must turn to biographies and fiction to find out what happened later. Both are marvelous sources of information about the people who lived through times which are far enough in the past for today's child to view them as history.

Children should be encouraged to look for books on California in the libraries they have near at hand. There are many specialized books on particular subjects which may well be a catalyst leading to a serious study of California's story. To be sure, it is often difficult to find that one book that has the answer to a

burning question, or one that gives the full story of any one particular event, but if there is a need, and children persist, they will be rewarded by opening their minds to the fascinating history of their state. It may even be that someone who is a child today will finally write that special book loved by all future California children.

The photograph on page 81 is courtesy of Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York and the San Diego Public Library Children's Room.

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Book Reviews

The Education of Carey McWilliams.

By Carey McWilliams. (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979. 363 pp. \$11.95.)

Reviewed by Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., Professor of History, University of Southern California.

Although born in Steamboat, Colorado, where he was raised on a cattle ranch, Carey McWilliams is no stranger to California. On the death of his father, his mother moved to Los Angeles. At the age of sixteen, he joined her in 1921. Soon after, he landed a job in the business office of the Los Angeles *Times*. His meager wages made it possible for him to matriculate in college a year later. In the ensuing five years, his education, formal and informal, was shaped by liberal arts and law degrees from USC; more importantly, an immersion in the writings of Ambrose Bierce and H. L. Mencken. The latter proved an overriding influence on his subsequent career. Attraction to journalism and serious writing, first nurtured by student editorials in the *Daily Trojan* and editing the college literary magazine, began with a 1925 piece on Bierce for *The Argonaut* (a San Francisco weekly) and immediate encouragement from Mencken. That beginning spawned a biography on Bierce and laid the foundation for an eventual decision to become a journalist/writer.

The saga of that career forms the heart of this political memoir, a quasi-autobiography similar in vein to those written by Henry Adams and Lincoln Steffens. It warrants comparison for it, too, deserves the appellation, "a classic." Like its counterparts, this is a personal history recorded from a decided vantage point; in this case that of an avowed socialist, "an unreconstructed, unapologetic radical," who has concentrated on issues, sought agreement on them and their objective as a matter of prime consideration.

McWilliams divides his memoir into two books. Book I spans the thirty years, 1921-1951, which can rightly be called "The California Years." A graphic portrait of Bohemian Los Angeles in the "Roaring Twenties" gives way to the sobering harsh world of the 1930s which transformed a young rebel into a radical. His attention subsequently was captured by society's ills and injustices. In a succession of articles and books McWilliams took up the causes of migratory workers, land exploitation, minority rights, racial prejudice, anti-semitism, and the plight of

Hispanic-Americans. Not content with writing on such subjects, he was an active participant in efforts to correct abuses and right injustices. Fascinating and informative insights abound in respect to the tragic Oakies and migratory labor; McWilliams' four years as head of the Division of Immigration and Housing under Governor Culbert L. Olson; Hollywood labor graft and corruption; Japanese "relocation," the Sleepy Lagoon case and Zoot Suit Riots during World War II, to highlight the more significant.

Book II, devoted to the years 1945-1975, are "*The Nation Years*." The focus shifts to the national arena of political events and issues. Named contributing editor for the West Coast in January 1945, McWilliams became immersed in "the thirty years of Cold War that began in 1945 and finally phased out in the spring of 1975," with the end of the Vietnam War. That galvanizing concern increased with his appointment as *The Nation's* editor and relocation to New York in 1951. His perception of those thirty years is compact and revealing; two-thirds of the narrative is devoted to them. Like a beacon his firm commitment to democratic principles, human dignity, unswerving truth illuminates the pages. His apt characterizations and blunt evaluations of the immediate past will inform, infuriate, deflate, and delight. One can disagree with some of his conclusions and positions, but still admire his courage and forthright candor. Make no mistake: this is a book for our time. One puts it down with admiration for a dedicated American, a man of conscience and purpose.

Now retired, he has returned to Los Angeles and is currently teaching a course at UCLA.

The Stanislaus River Drainage Basin and the New Melones Dam: Historical Evolution of Water Use Priorities.

By W. Turrentine Jackson and Stephen D. Mikesell. (Davis: University of California, California Water Resources Center, 1979. v, 184 pp. \$5.00.)

Reviewed by Lawrence B. Lee, Professor of History at San Jose State University, and author of two books and many articles on public lands and reclamation history in California and the West.

Observers of current California environmental politics will be attracted to this work. They have followed the spring,

1979 exploits of Mark Dubois and friends in a "sacrificial" dedication to saving the nine mile white rapids section of the Stanislaus River above Parrott's Ferry. This volume, one of several excellent monographs funded by the Water Resources Center at Davis, offers a valuable historical perspective for understanding the complex issues involved in the New Melones question, i.e., whether the dam's reservoir, built by the Army Corps of Engineers and now operated by the Bureau of Reclamation, should be filled to its authorized multi-purpose capacity. The single most enduring impression obtained from the book is that large scale water projects are a thing of the past in California. The former relatively simple benefit-cost formula for project authorization, which could be manipulated by the dam building federal "establishment" with comparative ease, has been refined in consequence of the National Environmental Protection Act (1969) and related federal and state laws. Now, project designs become vulnerable to involved environmental impact statement hearings and court tests *ad infinitum*.

The authors' thesis is that federal and state environmental agencies rather than private associations such as the Sierra Club, Environmental Defense Fund, and Friends of the River, "blew the whistle" on full implementation of the New Melones multi-purpose operation. The fatal flaw was that the Bureau of Reclamation could not justify the designed conservation capacity at the reservoir for irrigation and other consumptive uses once the C.V.P.'s East Side division had been scratched. The consciousness raising campaign evoked by rafting enthusiasts illustrated by the E.D.F. lawsuit of 1972 and the Save the River ballot proposition election of 1974 was significant only in a delaying and diversionary sense. On center stage was the state-federal jurisdictional struggle for control of water rights. The celebrated Supreme Court decision, *California v. U.S.* of October, 1978 upheld the state's Water Resources Control Board's authority to control storage capacity at New Melones within limits. Still in limbo for ultimate decision is the survival of the "wild rivers" concept on the Stanislaus versus unlimited agricultural and economic development fostered by C.V.P. water.

Students of public resource policy will delight in the authors' use of the case study approach to depict the evolution of water policy. All the theoretical concept models (single and multiple purpose projects, basin wide planning, phased development and decision making by layers of private, local, state and national bodies) have their actual his-

torical counterparts in the Stanislaus River Drainage Basin history. The authors' text, sources, numerous maps and tables, and excellent illustrations add clarity and validity to a necessarily complex chapter in public works history.

Called to the Pacific: A History of the Christian Brothers of the San Francisco District, 1868-1944.

By Ronald Eugene Isetti, F.S.C. (Moraga; St. Mary's College of California, 1979. 432 pp. \$12.95.)

Reviewed by John B. McGlain, S.J., Department of History, University of San Francisco.

Those who peruse dustjackets before reading a book at hand are frequently made aware that the many good things promised the reader are sometimes not delivered at all in the pages to follow. It is a real pleasure to compliment the author of the volume under inspection here which is the first of a trilogy planned by Brother Ronald. The dust-jackets claims are fulfilled in the pages of this book.

A complete account of the excellent educational work done by the Christian Brothers in their San Francisco District has long been needed. Once again, we must praise the first of the three volumes. The Brothers are indeed fortunate in having Brother Ronald at hand to research and write on the history of their religious congregation.

This reviewer was impressed by the thoughtful introduction in which the author fully explains what he was determined to accomplish. I think that it will cause many readers to continue in their perusal of the pages to come. I rather imagine that those who read this book will be favorably impressed by the integrity and frankness of the author. He correctly observes that too many treatments have been of the "in house" variety where the author records only the good which he has found and which inevitably causes critical comments by the readers. Brother Ronald is to be congratulated for bringing to life a well rounded narrative which "tells it like it really was."

As indicated, the readers of this volume cannot fail to notice the professional competency which is evident throughout Brother Ronald's volume. True to the words of the introduction the author gives us a needed and detailed account of his subject. He treats well and frankly



The Christian Brothers winery at Napa is world renowned. Funds derived here are used to support the Brothers' educational work.

some key controversial issues and these are presented against a satisfying background which focuses on relevant broad historical dimensions. Brother Ronald has made use of the extensive materials in various archives, notably the Roman and other collections of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. Much space is devoted to a detailed account of the Latin Question — the moot views of those in and out of the Congregation as to whether the Brothers should be allowed to teach the ancient classics, not done in the Brothers' European schools. It would seem that the principal group opposed to the teaching of Latin was composed of the Jesuits and we are here given a frank narrative as to how and why this was so. This reviewer can find nothing to criticize in this part of Brother Ronald's story. (It may be allowed here to mention that, on page 403, note 4, this reviewer is given a light rap on his knuckles for not devoting sufficient treatment to the relationships of Archbishop Alemany and the Christian Brothers in his life of Alemany, which was published in 1966. He must plead guilty to the charge and will try to do better in the future!) Returning to the Latin Question, hopefully may we surmise that the acrimonies born of it have now yielded to better days.

The various locations of Saint Mary's College are well treated here from the first enterprise in San Francisco in the 1860s and its removal to Oakland and, finally, to the Moraga years which started in 1928. It would seem that the author has something for every one interested in the complete history of the Brothers in the San Francisco district. This is presented in detailed accounts of the renowned Christian Brothers winery and in the equally detailed narrative revolving around the Slip Madigan years of bigtime football. For any who do not remember these years, Brother Ronald's narrative will prove enlightening, as will what he tells us about many other facets of the story of his earlier confreres who contributed much light (and, occasional heat) to the story.

It is a distinct pleasure, then, to recommend this superior volume. It is evident that the Christian Brothers have found the right member of their group to record their past. It will be good to await the next two volumes in the trilogy of which this book forms a part.

San Francisco's Wilderness Next Door.

By John Hart (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1979. 176 pp. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Charles Wollenburg, Reviews Editor of this magazine.

In 1969 Walter Hickel, Richard Nixon's much-maligned Secretary of the Interior, called for "Parks to the People — where the people are." What he meant was that the National Park system should modify its traditional emphasis on isolated natural wonders and develop more parks in and around America's great metropolitan regions. Three years later, a fortuitous combination of citizen activism, political expediency and plain good luck produced one of the first of the new metropolitan parks, the Golden Gate National Recreation Area (GGNRA).

Along with the older Point Reyes National Seashore, Marin County's extensive watershed lands and existing state and city parks, GGNRA created 130,000 acres of largely undeveloped open space, stretching from the San Francisco waterfront sixty miles north to Point Reyes. This dramatic piece of parkland, located minutes from downtown San Francisco, is John Hart's "wilderness next door."

Hart's work is part-guidebook, part-picture book, illus-

trated largely with excellent black-and-white photographs by Robert Sena, and partly an intelligent essay on the problems and potentialities of the "Parks to the People" concept. Most important for our purposes, the book also is a fine history of the preservation of a magnificent stretch of California landscape.

Hart's history begins in the nineteenth century with the building of military fortifications on both sides of the Golden Gate. He covers William Kent's heroic efforts to preserve Mount Tamalpais and the post-World War II fight to save Point Reyes from development. Also included are the controversies over Marinello, a proposed "new town" in Marin County and the future of Alcatraz. Finally, Hart discusses the strange combination of idealism and opportunism that produced the political clout necessary to get GGNRA through the Nixon administration and Congress.

Hart is an eloquent conservationist, but his message is never shrill or self-righteous. His book is of particular interest to residents of the Bay Area, but it includes lessons applicable to any metropolitan region. Certainly southern Californians interested in the future of the new Santa Monica Mountains National Recreational Area would do well to consult *Wilderness Next Door*.

The book also contains a valuable lesson for conservation historians: there is a lot of good history waiting to be written about the battles to preserve open space in and around America's great cities. Like the National Park Service, historians of the conservation movement should pay more attention to "where the people are."

Our Home Forever: A Hupa Tribal History.

By Byron Nelson, Jr. (Hupa, California: Hupa Tribe, 1978. 224 pp. \$10.00.)

Reviewed by Malcolm Margolin, a writer living in Berkeley, whose most recent book is The Ohlone Way: Indian Life in the San Francisco-Monterey Bay Area.

The Hupa numbered about 1,000 people at the time of the California gold rush. They lived in cedar-planked houses along the lower course of the Trinity River, an area rich in

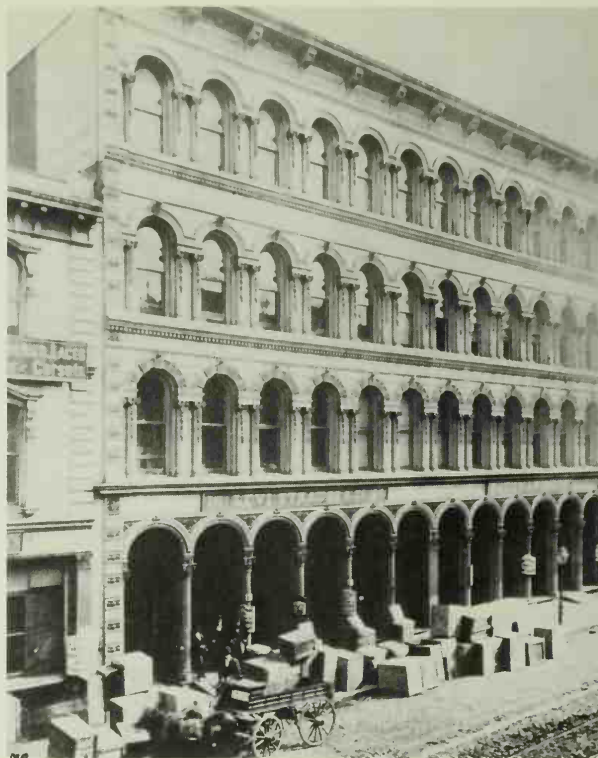
salmon and acorns. The introductory chapter of *Our Home Forever* powerfully evokes the old way of life: the women garbed in tassels and fringes, their hair perfumed beneath basket caps; a famous hunter dressed in a cougarskin robe with long tails that trailed behind him as he walked; people picking the path clean so that travelers would not stumble; a man obliged to ferry an enemy across the river lest his refusal add to a quarrel and result in a more expensive settlement. The Hupa traded with the Yurok for redwood canoes, and they hired the Chilula, Chimariko, and other neighbors to serve as soldiers in their wars. Since time immemorial this was how life had been lived. Then in 1850 "strangers" poured into their land.

Our Home Forever is the story, told by the Hupa themselves, of how they struggled against and survived the flood of "strangers." The author is a member of the tribal council and a local educator. Over two dozen other Hupa tribe members gave information, criticism, or verification. The National Endowment for the Humanities underwrote the research, the American West Center of the University of Utah provided technical assistance. The Hupa Tribe published the book with funds borrowed from its own credit union.

The result of this effort is, in a word, outstanding. The writing style is simple, honest, even graceful; the scholarship is exhaustive. Ethnologies, histories, old newspapers, theses, unpublished material from the National Archives in Washington and the Federal Research Center at San Bruno, plus files and tapes from the Hupa Oral History Program were mined for information. The book is heavily footnoted and has a critical bibliography, several appendices, nearly a dozen maps, and almost forty rare photographs by Curtis, Goddard, Kroeber, and others.

The book is also outstanding for its clarity of focus. All history is seen from Hoopa Valley, the center of the Hupa world, the place where according to legend "people came into being." It was toward this center that miners, settlers, and other "strangers" arrived, greedy for land and wealth, fearful and at the same time contemptuous of the native population. Here Fort Gaston was established, at first protecting the Hupa against "volunteer" companies and perverted "Indian killers" such as Hank Larabee who boasted of having killed sixty infants with a hatchet, but later becoming itself a source of trouble as soldiers far from town took their night's entertainment where they could find it. It was at this center that the Hupa fought among them-

An early location for
San Francisco's Levi Strauss
& Company was on
Battery Street.



selves in a feud condoned by a military commander who claimed: "It would be a Godsent for both parties to get killed." It was to and from this center that a steady parade of almost Dickensian characters arrived and departed: Indian agents who ran the gamut from humane to utterly corrupt, missionaries, superintendents, surveyors, and others. It was here at the center of their world that the Hupa fought, and are still fighting, skillfully and persistently, to preserve their land and their culture.

Beyond scholarship, style, and clarity of focus the book is also outstanding for the deep kindness and familiarity with which the author and contributors treat the past. *Our Home Forever* is not the study of a distant, exotic tribe. Rather, it is family history, the story of grandparents and great-grandparents, the story of a culture still remembered, still cherished, and — one rejoices in the miracle — still very much alive. The kindness and familiarity that suffuse the writing make this a book that one comes to admire, but more than that, a book that one comes to love.

*Levi's: The "Shrink-to-Fit" Business that
Stretched to Cover the World.*

By Ed Cray (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1978.
286 pp. \$9.95.)

Reviewed by Moses Rischin, Professor of History at San Francisco State University, whose latest book is The Jews of the West: The Metropolitan Years.

When Berkeley became the hub of the youth revolt of the 1960s, San Francisco's Levi Strauss Company, led by older Berkeley alumni, escalated the manufacture of blue jeans until denim became the world-wide emblem of post-industrial America's fashionably unfashionable haute-couture. Not since Henry Ford's Model T has a product become so associated in the public mind with quality and durability and so identified with the "American way of life" as have the ubiquitous Levi's. Clearly by the early 1970s when Levi Strauss and Co. had zoomed past Hart Schaffner and Marx in *Fortune* magazine's ranking of the 500 largest industrials, the western sunbelt had displaced

the older American heartland as standard bearer of the nation's life styles.

Ed Cray's sprightly popular history of the world's largest apparel manufacturer deserves a wide readership. From the founding of the original dry goods company in San Francisco in 1853 through the patenting in 1872 of Jacob Davis's riveted pants and its modest marketing, primarily in the west, to its rocketlike ascent in the 1950s and 1960s to the mythic manufacturing firm of the western world, the fascinating story in all its vicissitudes unfolds in rich anecdotal and personal detail. With sales standing at slightly over \$4,000,000 in 1941, but a shade higher than they had been in 1929, Levi's sales rose to \$152,000,000 in 1966 and approached \$2,000,000,000 at the close of the 1970s, just a decade after one of the half-dozen family firms in the nation had opted to go public.

In a book intended for a wide readership, the author does not probe very deeply into the changing social, cultural, religious, personal and business milieus that shaped the Strausses, Sterns, Koshlands and Haases and their descendants. The early pioneers who in the mid-nineteenth century left their tiny Bavarian birthplaces of Bittenheim, Ickenhausen, and Reckenderf for the western urban frontier were to play an important role in developing San Francisco civic culture. Although Cray alludes to the traditions of social responsibility that were to be infused into the Levi Strauss Company, he does not adequately explore or elaborate on the many suggestive clues dropped along the

way that might give the reader a larger grasp of that role.

In 1914 when Louis Brandeis spoke of business as a profession alongside law, medicine and theology, he insisted that business too was a vocation and a public trust. It called for intellectual preparation, goals that could be justified in social and not merely in private terms, and standards of success that were only in part to be measured by financial gain. Clearly Levi's and its officers have played a creative role in labor, race and human relations, in social and community service, in civic internationalism and religious leadership as well as in cultural affairs that extended far beyond the bounds of enlightened business practice even as enunciated by Brandeis. The present leaders appear determined to keep Levi's "small," to shun the temptation of the demon conglomerate, and to draw on the social capital of their distinctive business tradition. Levi's is a lively handbook and exemplar of one business's determination to stay human.

Essays in Population History: Mexico and California.

By Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. xiii, 333 pp. Index. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by James J. Rawls, Department of History, Diablo Valley College, Pleasant Hill, California.

The three essays contained in this volume shed important new light on several topics in the history of Mexico and California. Using a recently discovered seventeenth-century document of royal revenues and tribute assessments, Professors Cook and Borah establish in their first essay that by 1620-1625 the Indian population of central Mexico had fallen to about three percent of its size at the time of first European contact. The magnitude of this decline is distinctly greater than previously thought. In the second essay Cook and Borah conclude that the nutritional level of Indians in central Mexico prior to the Spanish Conquest was "extremely low," and that under the new order per capita food production and consumption improved significantly.

California historians will be most interested in the third essay, an analysis of the vital statistics in the registers of eight northern California missions. One of the most unexpected results of this analysis is the variability of experience from mission to mission. Indians at Santa Cruz, for example, survived an average of eight and a half years after conversion, while those at San Luis Obispo survived more than twice as long. The infant mortality rate was also erratic, but generally ran high throughout the mission period: more than half the neophytes born in the missions died before their fifth birthday. Though shocking by present standards, Cook and Borah demonstrate that this rate was not much worse than that in contemporary parishes in Europe. The registers indicate as well that by the end of the mission period the neophyte population was beginning to show faint signs of "demographic recovery." Ever since Cook's pioneer work in the 1940s he had been identified as a chief critic of the California mission system, yet here he and Borah conclude that "It is unfortunate that political developments cut short this interesting human and biological experiment."

Cook and Borah also mine the mission registers for information on the non-Indian population of early California. They report that the infant mortality rate of the *gente de razón* was far below that of the mission Indians and, surprisingly, even lower than that of contemporary Europeans at localities in France and England. "Clearly the environment of Alta California was extraordinarily favorable to the Hispanic population." The registers also reveal the growing presence of non-Spanish-speaking immigrants in California — by 1854 about one-fifth of the white infants baptized at the former missions were of mixed Hispano and Anglo parentage.

In these essays Cook and Borah reopen inquiries into topics long neglected, such as aboriginal nutrition levels, and demonstrate also that new methods of analysis can yield insights into such overworked areas as the California missions. The present volume is the last which will come from this distinguished team of collaborators — Cook died in 1974 — but in it the authors serve well the next generation of scholars. They present their findings with great clarity, they describe in detail their methods of historical detection, and they conclude with questions which may only be answered with additional research.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1978-79) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Adams, Ansel. *Yosemite and the Range of Light*. Oakland: Oakland Museum, 1979. Publisher, 1000 Oak St., Oakland. \$14.95.

All Night Los Angeles. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979. Publisher, 870 Market St., San Francisco, 94102. \$4.95.

America, History and Life, Part D, Annual Index, Vol. 15, 1978. Santa Barbara: American Bibliographical Center, Clio Press, 1979. 560 pp. Publisher, Library, ABX-Clio, P.O. Box 4397, Santa Barbara, 93103. (no price listed).

Art in San Francisco. San Francisco: San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 1979. 35 pp. Publisher, 939 Ellis St., San Francisco, 94109. \$3.00.

Beers, Henry P. *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest; A Bibliographic Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979. 493 pp. Publisher, Box 3398, Tucson, Arizona, 85722. \$18.50.

Bennett, Mel. *Stockton's Theatre of Yesterday, One Hundred Years of Theatre in Stockton, 1850-1950; the Pictorial Story*. Aptos: Willow House, 1979. 194 pp. Publisher, Box 155, Aptos, 95003. \$21.20.

Berg, Peter. *Reinhabiting a Separate Country (A Bioregional Anthology of Northern California)*. San Francisco: Planet Drum Books, 1979. 224 pp. Publisher, Box 31251, Dept. B., San Francisco, 94131. \$6.00.

Bernhardi, Robert. *The Buildings of Oakland*. Oakland: Forest Hill Press, 1979.

116 pp. Publisher, 3974 Forest Hill Ave., Oakland, 94602. \$14.95.

Black, Ester Boulton. *Stories of Old Upland*. Upland: Chaffey Communities Cultural Center, 1979. 124 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 772, Upland, 91786. (no price listed).

Brand Book Number Six. San Diego: The Westerners, San Diego Corral, 1979. 218 pp. Limited eds. Publisher, P.O. Box 7174, San Diego, 92107. \$28.00.

Bronson, Roy. *The Law Firm of Bronson, Bronson & McKinnon: 1919-1941*. Berkeley: University of California Press, Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1978. 279 pp. (Available to non-circulating libraries only). \$34.00.

Browning, Peter. *Roaming the Back Roads: Day Trips By Car Through Northern California*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1979. 175 pp. Publisher, 870 Market St., San Francisco, 94102. \$5.95.

Caldwell, Jayne Craven. *Carpinteria As It Was*. Carpinteria: Papillon Press, 1979. 228 pp. Publisher, 1232 Vallecito Road, Carpinteria, 93013. \$9.95.

California. Dept. of Parks & Recreation. *The User's Guide to PARIS, Park & Recreation Information System*. Sacramento: State of California, 1978. 85 pp. Publisher, Resources Agency, Dept. of Parks & Recreation, Sacramento. (no price listed).

Calistoga Walking Guide. 3rd printing. Napa: Napa Landmarks, Inc., 1979. Publisher, P.O. Box 702, Napa, 94558. \$7.5.

Callahan, Bob. *A Jaime De Angulo Reader*. Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1979. 253 pp. Publisher., 2845 Buena Vista Way, Berkeley, 94708. \$8.95.

Campa, Arthur L. *Hispanic Culture in the Southwest*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. Publisher, 1005 Asp Ave., Norman, Oklahoma, 73069. \$25.00.

Canan, Janine. *The Hunger*. Berkeley: Oyez Press, 1979. Publisher, Bob Hawley, Ross Valley Book Co., Inc., 1407 Solano Ave., Albany, 94706. (no price listed).

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- Candler, G. M. *The Way West*. Claverton Manor, Bath, Avon: American Museum. 92 pp. (no price listed).
- Carpenter, Virginia. *Canada de la Brea: Ghost Rancho*. Santa Ana: Orange County Historical Society, 1978. 60 pp. Publisher, 2002 North Main St., Santa Ana, 92706. \$5.00.
- Carson, Robert (ed.) *The Waterfront Writers, the Literature of Work*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979. \$10.00.
- Charles, Caroline Moore. *The Action and Passion of Our Times*. Berkeley: University of California. Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1979. 310 pp. \$44.00. (Available to non-circulating libraries only)
- Clark, Jessie Howe. *Historical Sketches: Recalling Early Times and People of the Pinole, California Area*. 156 pp. 1979. \$7.75.
- Corbett, Michael R. *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage*. San Francisco: Foundation for San Francisco's Architectural Heritage, 1979. 271 pp. \$32.50 (cloth); \$19.95 (paper).
- Crown Zellerbach: *Timber, Technology, and Corporate Development in the Pacific Northwest, 1920 to 1965*. Berkeley: University of California. Bancroft Library. Regional Oral History Office, 1979. 310 pp. (no price listed).
- Dean, J. Robert. *A Land Called California*. Mill Valley: Pacific Sun Press, 1979. 215 pp. \$24.95.
- [Delehanty, Randolph] *California Great House Locator: Up-to-date Guide to California's Victorians, Great Estates, and Gardens Open to the Public!* San Francisco: California Street Design Co., Inc., 1979. Numbered map with text. Publisher, 215 Market St., San Francisco, 94105. \$3.95.
- Dillon, Richard, Thomas Moulin, & Don DeNevi. *High Steel: Building the Bridges Across San Francisco Bay*. Millbrae: Celestial Arts, 1979. 166 pp. Publisher, 231 Adrian Road, Millbrae, 94030. \$25.00.
- Dozier, Dave F. *Main Street, Susanville, 1910*. Susanville: Lassen County Historical Society, 1979. 38 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 321, Susanville, 96130. (no price listed).
- Erdoes, Richard. *Saloons of the Old West*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. 277 pp. \$13.95.
- Etulain, Richard W. *Jack London on the Road - the Tramp Diary and Other Hobo Writings*. Logan, Utah: Utah State University Press, 1979. \$7.50 (cloth); \$4.50 (paper).
- Everson, William. *Earth Poetry: Selected Essays & Interviews*. Edited by Lee Bartlett. Berkeley: 1979. \$10.95 (cloth); \$9.55 (paper).
- Ferrell, Mallory Hope. *West Side: Narrow Gauge in the Sierra*. Edmonds, Washington: Pacific Fast Mail, 1979. 320 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 57, Edmonds, Washington, 98020. \$29.50.
- Fairley, Lincoln. *Facing Mechanization: The West Coast Longshore Plan*. Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations. University of California at Los Angeles, 1979. Publisher, 9244 Bunche Hall, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, 90024. (no price listed).
- Farallones Institute. *The Integral Urban House: Self-reliant Living in the City*. Sierra Club Books, 1979. 494 pp. \$12.95.
- Fitzgerald, Kathleen. *Architecture Napa: A Guide to the Land, the Buildings, and Styles of Napa County*. Napa: Napa Landmarks, Inc., 1979. 41 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 702, Napa, 94558. \$4.95.
- Fullerton, George E. et. al. *The Zamorano Club: The First Half Century, 1928-1978*. Los Angeles: The Zamorano Club, 1978. 99 pp. (Available to members only)
- George, Gerald & Mollie Rights. *The Moveable Fleet: A Boatwatcher's Guide*. California Living Book, 1979. \$4.95.
- Golovnin, V. M. *Around the World on the Kamchatka, 1817-1819*. Honolulu: The Hawaiian Historical Society and the University Press of Hawaii, 1979. 353 pp. \$20.00.
- Halpern, John. *Los Angeles: Improbable City*. New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1979. \$19.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).
- Hayne, Francis Bourm. *En Un Tiempo: Early Days of the Society of Los Alamos, Santa Barbara County, California*. Napa: Schieck Printing, Inc., 1979. 131 pp. (no price listed).
- History of Monterey County*. (Published by Elliott & Moore, 1881) Facsimile. Fresno: Valley Publishers, 1979. 296 pp. Publisher, 1759 Fulton St., Fresno, 93721. \$39.00.
- Horgan, Paul. *Josiah Gregg and His Vision of the Early West*. New York, 1979. 116 pp. \$8.95.
- Howard, Donald M. *Prehistoric Sites Handbook: Monterey and San Luis Obispo Counties*. Carmel: Monterey County Archaeological Society, 1979. Publisher, Monterey County Archaeological Society, P.O. Box 4606, Carmel, 93921. \$19.95.
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- Jones, Oakah L., Jr. *Los Paisanos: Spanish Settlers on the Northern Frontier of New Spain*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1979. Publisher, 1005 Asp Ave., Norman, Oklahoma, 73069. \$22.50.
- From Kapuvar to California, 1893; Travel Letters of Baron Gustav von Berg*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1979. 84 pp. \$32.50. (Available to members only)
- Kaufmann, Preston J. *The Last Word: Fox*. Pasadena: Showcase Publications, 1979. 380 pp. Publisher, Dept. A. P.O. Box 744-C, Pasadena, 91104. \$35.00.
- Kingman, Russ. *A Pictorial Life of Jack Lon-*

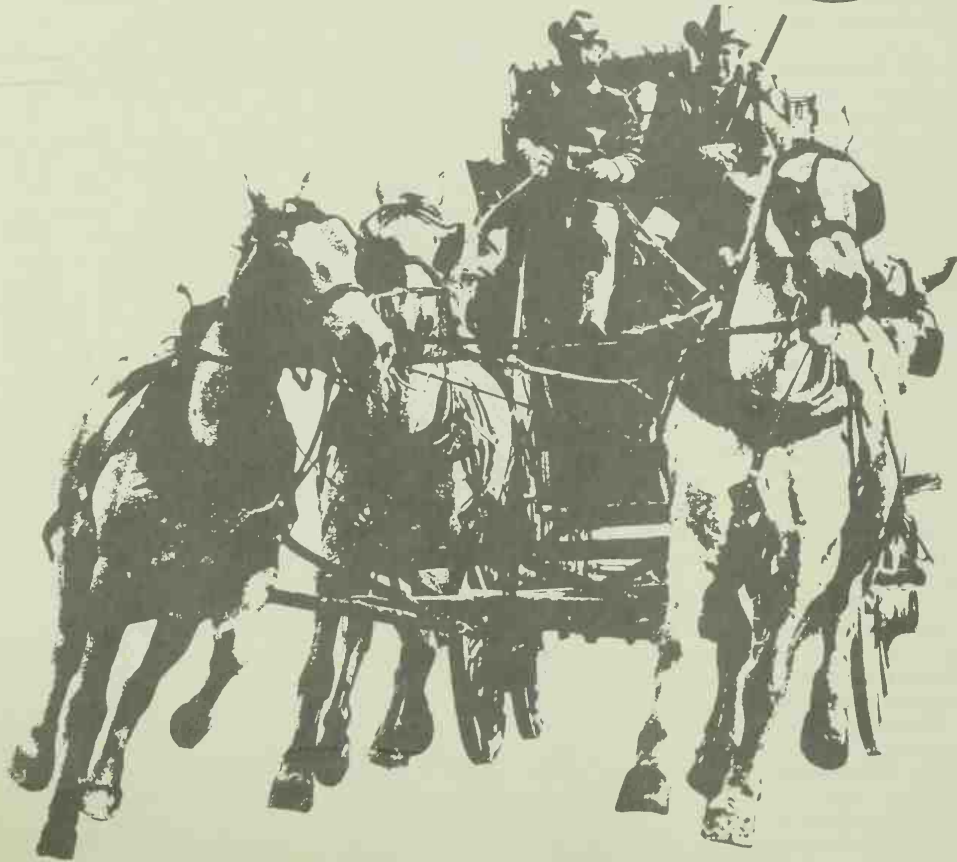
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- Kroeber, Theodora. *Alfred Kroeber: A Personal Configuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 296 pp. Publisher, 2223 Fulton St., Berkeley, 94720. \$4.95.
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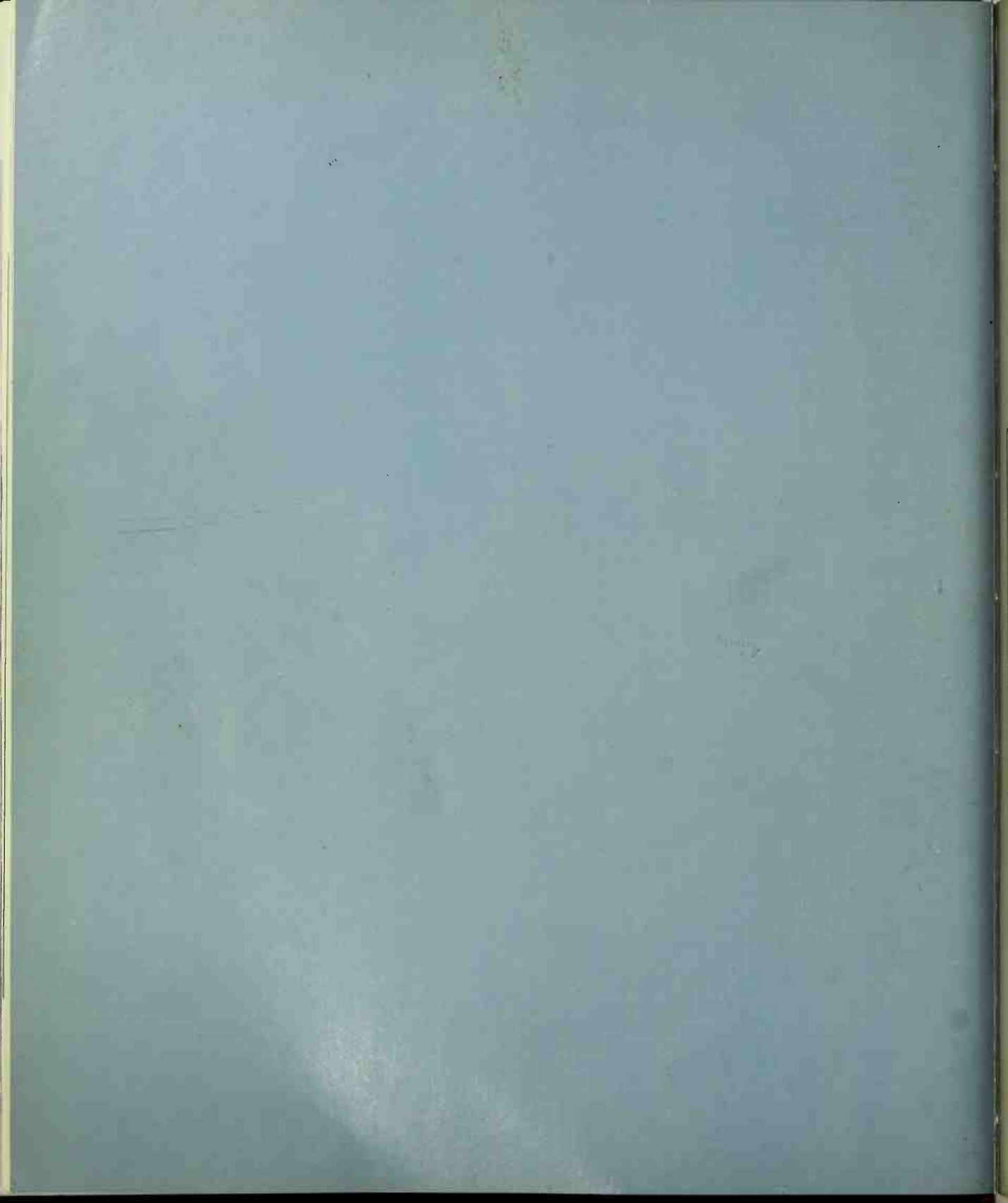
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COVER

The MacGowan sisters, Alice and Grace, are depicted (second and third from the left) in a period *Los Angeles Times* cartoon with fellow "Carmelites" attending a picnic on Point Lobos. The story of the MacGowan girls, both successful authors, and their life at the turn-of-the-century writers' colony at Carmel begins on page 116. Copyright 1966 by The Book Club of California. All rights reserved; reproduced by permission.

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The No Fence Law Of 1874

VICTORY FOR SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY FARMERS



The 1874 "No-Fence" law passed by the California legislature signaled a victory for the farmer over the cattleman and stands as a symbol of economic change in the San Joaquin Valley from cattle grazing to cultivation of the soil. The cattleman had arrived in the valley first, in the 1840s, but as settlement began in the 1850s and increased in the 1860s, he found himself in conflict with the rights of the farmer. The ever-increasing farm population meant that local newspapers tended to support the farmer's position, and, moreover, his numerical superiority meant that he would dominate in politics as well. Finally, because the cattleman generally did not own the land his animals grazed upon, he had little legal recourse in any attempt to remove the farmer, whose claim to his 160 acre farm was quite legal. The battle between the two economic interests spanned nearly two decades, climaxed by a series of court cases and laws passed in the 1870s that protected the farmer by obliging the cattlemen to fence in their grazing animals.

The earliest recorded economic activity in Kern County resulted from the establishment of five Spanish ranchos from 1842-1846, located generally in the foothills and mountains on the southern rim of the valley. An unknown, but probably small, number of Mexican longhorns were grazed on those ranchos prior to the American conquest of 1846. Though one government gave way to another, the pastoral economy endured throughout much of southern California well into the 1870s. Just as the Spanish had before them, the American cattlemen used the San Joaquin as a grazing area, taking advantage of the free water and grass as well as of the land itself. Typically, the vaqueros located their camps at

the base of the foothills, permitting the animals to graze in the valley in winter and in the foothills and mountains in summer. This pattern continued through the 1850s and well into the 1860s with little interference from farmers in the early years. Large herds were driven from Los Angeles over the Tehachapis to the mines in northern California. As early as 1847, Benjamin David Wilson tells us that: "I moved up all my stock, about two thousand head of cattle, passed through the Tulare Valley by way of Cajon de los Uvas; there was not a white man living on that route, from San Fernando Mission to Sutter's Fort."¹ During the height of the gold rush, in the early 1850s, several herds were moved north, sometimes losing beef and even vaqueros to the marauding Indians.² Some cattle were deliberately left behind to stock the herds kept in the valley. The year 1850 saw the San Joaquin Valley economically dominated by cattle interests with no record of a permanent white settler in all of what is now Kern County.

The dominance of cattle interests was evident in most of California and permitted the passage of the Trespass Act of 1850. This law described in great detail what is a "lawful fence" and placed the burden upon the farmer by stating that unless a lawful fence was erected by the farmer he had no legal protection against stray grazing animals. The law even provided that owners of grazing animals could sue the farmer for any damage done to the stock. The difficulty for the farmer was the cost of building a legal fence. Barbed wire fences were not yet known, and proper wooden or stone fences were prohibitive in cost. The cost of post-and-board fences, "the cheapest good fence that can be built," was estimated by one to be as high as \$700 a mile and by another to equal the annual value of a farmer's crop.³ It was the passage of this law, often called the "Fence-Law" by contemporaries, that led the farmer in the 1860s and 1870s to lobby for a "No-Fence Law." The term "no-fence" meant to the farmer that he would not be obliged by

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aymaking on the Jackson Ranch. The two rakers are windrowing and cocking the y and the derrick fork is just lifting its load of several hundred pounds upon the stack.



law to build a fence around his property in order to protect his crops from damage by stray animals.

Tulare County was formed by legislative act in 1852 and at that time included what is now Kern County. There were but three white habitations in the entire area: the Wood cabin at Four Creeks (near present-day Visalia), the Pool and Campbell ferry and trading post on the Kings river (near present-day Centerville), and the Tejon ranch in the Tehachapis. There were no more than a dozen bona fide white residents of the entire county.⁴ In 1853, a party of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, led by Lt. Robert S. Williamson, surveyed for a railroad and reached the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Traveling from Poso Creek to the Kern River and on south to the Tehachapis, they reported no settlement until reaching Beale's Indian Reservation.⁵ But within a

few years the scene changed dramatically. Edward F. Beale acquired the Tejon Ranch and in 1853 established the Sebastian Indian Reservation, which had the effect of placating the Indians and making raids less likely. In the same year, the national government established Fort Tejon in the Tehachapis, which provided a rest stop for travelers and rendered the journey less hazardous. Several businessmen who located near the fort took up cattle raising as a part-time venture.⁶ The cattle raised at that time were most often the Mexican longhorn, an animal which was scrawny but tough and well-suited to survival on the open range. More important, the longhorn could be a fierce and aggressive animal, which portended even greater danger to the farmer and his crops.

The first settlers in Kern County chose to live in the mountains generally east and south of present-

Outsized crops, such as this field of 12 foot high corn, were sufficient testimony that the rich alluvial fan of the Kern River would more profitably support crops than grazing cattle.

day Bakersfield rather than in the valley itself. The Kern River flowed freely into the valley, depositing water in sloughs and lakes scattered throughout the southern end of the valley. The resulting wet ground conditions gave growth to numerous trees, brush, and "tules" that harbored malaria-infested insects. It was in part to avoid the chills and fever of malaria that settlers at first avoided the valley floor.⁷ Some of the first permanent settlers in the county were attracted to the high mountain valleys: John Moore Brite settled in Tehachapi in 1853; William Weldon arrived in South Fork Valley in 1857; A. T. Lightner commenced farming in Walker's Basin in 1858; and William P. Lynn settled in the valley that bears his name before moving to a farm on the Panama slough in the late 1850s. As if to emphasize the dangers of even traveling in the valley, the Butterfield Stage chose in 1858 a route along the eastern rim of the valley whenever possible.

By the late 1850s, several settlers had established farms at or near present-day Bakersfield. They were attracted by the excellent soil and available water from the Kern River. Regarding the prospects for farming, Samuel A. Bishop wrote:

I lived at or near Fort Tejon from the year 1853 to 1866, and can say from personal experience that I know of no county in the State that is more susceptible of being made one of the most flourishing and beautiful on the face of the earth, if settled by an industrious people. There is a belt of land lying along the foothills of the Sierras, commencing from where Kern River enters the valley or plains, extending southeast and south, and thence west or northwest, forming a semi-circle of at least 75 miles, said belt of land ranging from one to six miles in width, making an average of three miles, which would contain 225 sections or 144,000 acres of the finest grain land I ever saw and the other half medium.⁸

The "belt of land" Bishop referred to became known as Kern Island, the alluvial fan created by the Kern River as its drainage reached into the San Joaquin Valley. Historically, the water of the Kern River has moved in many directions once it entered the floor of the valley. It always carried with it river sand which it deposited in the valley to await those "industrious people" who would cultivate it. Kern Island, then, was the name given to the land enclosed by the major channels of the Kern River and, because of slightly higher elevation and the option of channeling river water for irrigation, it proved to be the first choice of settlers coming into the valley.

Kern Island in the 1860s was a relatively isolated area in a state whose population was booming. All that was needed to attract large numbers of settlers was a man of vision and energy. For Kern Island, that man was Colonel Thomas Baker. Baker had been most recently a resident of Visalia and a state Senator familiar with ways and means of acquiring large amounts of land. In 1850, the national government had granted to the state of Arkansas the right to reclaim "swamp lands" and to pass the title to private ownership and had provided at the same time for other states to make similar application. Using the Arkansas Act as a basis, the California legislature in 1857 awarded to William F. and Joseph Montgomery the right to reclaim swamp land in the San Joaquin Valley. A further requirement imposed upon the Montgomerys was to build a canal between the Kern and San Joaquin Rivers large enough to carry vessels of eighty ton burden.⁹ Unable to attract sufficient capital for such a large endeavor, the Montgomerys sold their rights to Colonel Baker and Harvey S. Brown of San Francisco. By an act of the legislature of 1863, Baker was exempted from building navigational canals. Baker hired Indians to build a dam to block water from draining into the South Fork in an effort to reclaim the land along the slough flowing north out of Buena Vista Lake. The cost of this effort

was greater than Baker could easily handle, and he sought to recover his expenses by selling the reclaimed land to newly-arrived settlers.¹⁰

Baker was aided by nature in his reclamation efforts. According to law, to "reclaim" swamp land meant to drain it sufficiently to make the land "susceptible to cultivation."¹¹ A great drought in 1864 dried out his land far better than he could have with drainage ditches, and the surveyor general pronounced the land reclaimed. The patent of 1867 conveyed to Baker a total of 87,120 acres of land in Kern and Fresno Counties.¹² He promptly sold most of the land to both ordinary settlers and large land purchasers, such as Horatio P. Livermore of San Francisco and his resident agent in Kern County, Julius Chester. Baker had long been a strong advocate of the agricultural prospects of Kern Island:

Why this country has elicited so little attention on the part of agriculturalists I will endeavor to explain. Quite recently, stock-raisers have given it all the attention it deserves. The dry season has caused a failure of grass in other parts of the country, and cattle and horses have been driven here in vast numbers. I estimate there are now in the vicinity not less than 50,000 or 60,000 head. It is situated so far in the interior that, for agricultural purposes, until the recent discovery of rich mines across the Sierra Nevada mountains due east, it was too far to a market; besides, our swamp land grant covers nearly all the desirable land for farming and could not be reclaimed except on the large scale we are about to undertake.¹³

Soon Baker was advertising that he was ready to sell reclaimed swamp land "to cultivators of the soil on the most liberal terms."¹⁴ And the settlers did come, planting a surprising variety of crops in an attempt to determine what would grow best in the distinctive geography and climate of the San Joaquin Valley. As early as 1865, cotton was grown by Solomon Jewett on a 140 acre farm. Jewett imported a ton of seed from Tennessee and a ton from Mexico, the latter faring better.¹⁵ Other crops tried were al-

falfa, apples, grapes, wheat, barley, and sweet potatoes, as well as cattle, horses, and sheep.

Settlement on Kern Island and the growth of the mining towns in the mountains caused sufficient population growth to create Kern County in 1866, with Havilah as the county seat. Oddly enough, Kern Island was thought of as "out of the way" in the 1860s in relation to Havilah. That was due to the fact that the stage coach line from Los Angeles north passed through the mountains to the east of the valley, from Tehachapi Valley to Havilah, Keyesville, and Linn's Valley before moving north to Visalia. With the intention of linking up with this principal north-south artery, Baker financed the construction of a road from Kern Island to Bena, and twisting up the mountain, on to Havilah. The opening of this "turnpike" in 1867 gave hope to the Kern Island farmer that he could more easily market his produce in the mining camps and towns around Havilah. Further progress was shown with the opening of a Post Office in 1867 in what by then was known as Bakersfield with service to Havilah.¹⁶

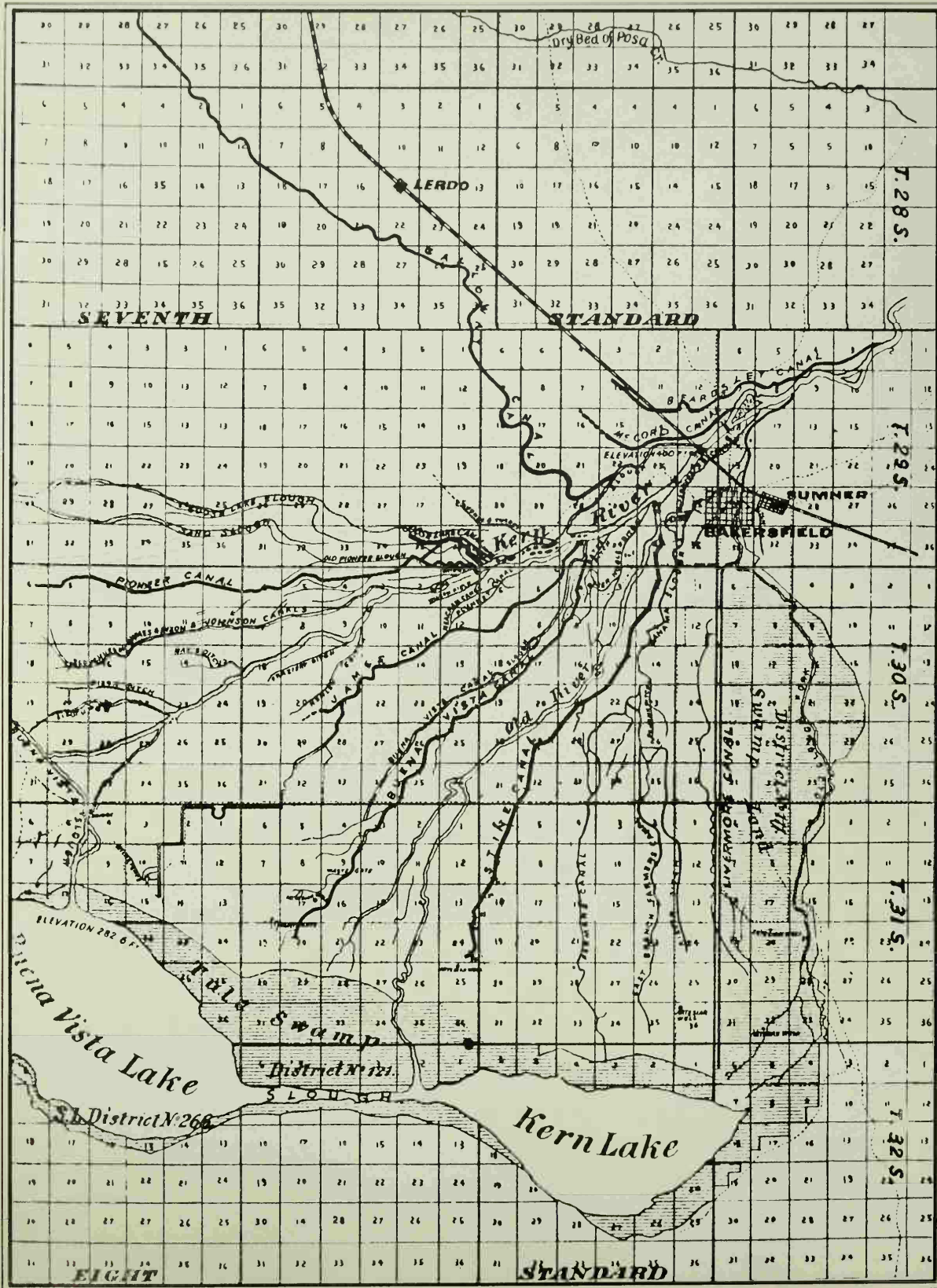
As permanent settlers found their way to the Kern Island area in the 1860s, the cattle business remained active throughout the valley and surrounding foothills. Many if not most of the herds were "outsiders" in the sense that their owners were not residents of Kern County and the herds had been driven in from ranges quite distant from Kern Island. In testifying in a case heard before the California Supreme Court, John P. Murray tells us:

I have been in the stock business, in what is now Kern County, from Tulare Lake south. My cattle ranged all over the island there, and around Kern and Buena Vista Lakes, and from Tulare Lake to those points I brought cattle here first in 1864. It was a year of great drought. I came here from Tulare and brought cattle with me, somewhere in the neighborhood of a 1000 to 1200.

There were a lot of cattle there. The country seemed full of them. They drove them in from Santa Barbara and San

The Kern River, looking westward and downstream, with the Kern Island at the left.





Weirs, or small dams, such as this McCaffrey Weir along the Calloway Canal served to drop water elevation as well as to divert water into a series of irrigation ditches.



Luis Obispo, and all over the country from Santa Clara and Tulare, every place they had cattle they drove them in onto these tules and salt grass to save them, because it was a very dry year.¹⁷

Murray estimated seeing 40,000 head of cattle in the southern San Joaquin Valley that year, driven there from nearly every direction of the compass. He also makes it clear that he thought of the valley as a refuge during dry years, but other cattlemen ran cattle there on a regular basis so the settlers were continually vexed by the problem of wandering cattle. During the height of the spring roundup, rodeos were held with great frequency throughout the valley and in the mountain valleys. The rodeo marked the climax of the year for the cattlemen and served as a time for celebration as well as for the business of "cutting out" the unmarked cattle and branding. Early reports tell of the fearsome nature of the Mexican Longhorn:

The Spanish cattle, light red, brindle, lemon colored, and sometimes with a dark stripe down the spine, were well suited to early California. They were as fierce as modern Brahmas, well able to take care of themselves and their young in the tough company of coyotes, wolves, lions, and grizzlies. Spanish cattle were leggy, speedy and inclined to produce tough beef. They were dangerous to a man on foot.¹⁸

It is no wonder that the settlers feared these animals freely roaming the plains, and it is no surprise that the American stockman attempted to upgrade the quality of his herd for better acceptance at the market.

In spite of both flood and drought during the 1860s, the settlers of Kern Island held on and prospered. The slow but certain progress of the Kern Island agricultural settlement already offered better prospects for growth than did the county seat at Havilah, which relied heavily upon the mining industry. By 1869, the editor of the Havilah *Courier* had taken a trip to the "Island:"

We went no farther than Bakersfield, in the upper portion of the Island. Here we found an exceedingly rich soil, capable of producing in the greatest all the products of the temperate zone . . . climate is delightful . . . The settlers on the Island indulge (and justly too) high hopes of the future of their settlement. The Southern Pacific Railroad is certain to run near what is now known as Bakersfield.¹⁹

Within one month, the editor was again extolling the virtues of Bakersfield, remarking on the large number of persons daily visiting the Island "in pursuit of farms." He pointed out to his readers that "thousands of acres of superior land near the River are still open to pre-emption at the railroad price of

\$2.50 per acre."²⁰ By the end of that same year, the editor was so convinced of the superiority of "the Island's" prospects that he moved the *Courier* to Bakersfield. A newspaper that had focused on mining news now shifted its attention to agriculture and became a major spokesman for the interests of the farmer.

As if to mark the correctness of the editor's decision to move to Bakersfield, the very next year the farmers of the Island joined in forming the Kern County Agricultural Society, the constitution stating in part:

Its objects shall be to promote agriculture, horticulture, and stock raising, and to aid in the early settlement and development of this portion of the valley.²¹

The motivation behind the formation of the Society came from a combination of several factors. The large land owners, such as Baker, were eager to attract land purchasers and intended to employ the Society as a vehicle to trumpet the virtues of Kern Island; the local businessmen were naturally interested in community growth which would increase their market; and the small as well as the large farmers were anxious to unite their strength in their struggle over the Trespass Act of 1850.

By the early 1870s, the *Courier* noted on several occasions the steady increase of the local settler population. Moreover, the editor was pleased with the quality of the immigrants: "... we may expect the speedy occupation of all our vacant lands by a superior and well-to-do class of people."²² In the fall of 1873, encampments of prospective settlers could be seen dotting the outskirts of Bakersfield, each party looking for the best land to settle upon. One farmer reported six eastern families camped on his land with that object in mind.²³ Many of these immigrants came from such near-by locations as Tulare County and the mountain valleys generally east of Bakersfield. The local editor no doubt reflected the

feelings of the local farmers in asserting the superior nature of the farmer over the cattleman:

It has been found that our vast plains and fertile valleys can be put to a much better use than to merely afford pasturage for droves of wild horses and cattle. Experience has shown that these lands are well adapted to the production of grain, and instead of being the homes of nomadic vaqueros with his band of mustangs, they are fitted for the homes of intelligent and prosperous farmers. Let the neat farm house take the place of the thong-bound corral and thatched-roof cabin; let the plains wave with grain instead of their natural crops of weeds; let the worthless mustang be replaced by Morgans, Blackhawks and Hambletonians; let the slab-sided, long-horned wild cattle be replaced with Devons, Durhams, and Ayrshires.²⁴

The emerging dominance of the farmer over the cattleman on Kern Island was but a microcosm of an economic shift that took place throughout the state and, indeed, the nation. Typically the cattleman made first use of grass lands on the advancing frontier, running his cattle on the open range and thus feeding and watering his stock on public land. As the frontier gave way to the permanent settler, the cattleman found himself in conflict over land and water rights, as well as over his marauding cattle. This tale, with few alterations, took place on a grand scale on the Great Plains west of the Mississippi River at roughly the same time in American history. In California, the cattleman had been free to graze his stock in the Central Valley, ranging from Redding in the north to Kern Island in the south. Now, in the 1860s and 1870s, he was forced to give way to the farmer, both in fact and in law. The cattleman was overwhelmed not only by the larger numbers of the farm population, but, equally important, by his lack of a legal right to the land he had used. In arguing his cause, he was wont to fall back on the reason-

This 1890 scene of downtown Bakersfield's main street (Chester Avenue and 19th Street) shows the office of the Bakersfield Californian as well as an enticing Land Office. A contemporary describes Bakersfield as "being laid out on a liberal scale with large lots and very wide streets" with a population of 1600.



ing that the land was good for nothing better than grazing. When the farmer came along, settled, raised crops, and proved that assertion false, the cattleman was left with little practical and no legal ground to stand upon. His largest hope was to maintain the status quo by preventing the legislature from passing any law detrimental to his interests.

That hope began to flicker in the early 1870s as the farmer became increasingly exercised on the fence question:

The fence and no-fence question is considerably talked about. The farmers of Kern County, like elsewhere, are becoming very tired of herding stock for a class of people, who have no further interest in the county save to drive

their cattle to eat the grass which they, the actual settlers, need for what little stock they have for themselves.²⁵

A particular problem on Kern Island was the large number of so-called "nomads" or cattle driven into the area from distant locations. The settlers were, as a result, bothered not only by the wild cattle but by the fact that the owners did not even pay local taxes. The president of the Agricultural Society, Andrew R. Jackson, expressed the problem well:

The reputation of the great valley of Tulare, as a grazing region, is almost world wide, and herds of cattle are constantly driven into it from every quarter of the state, and even from foreign states; last fall a herd of five thousand head, from Sonora, being driven through Tejon Canyon,

Essential to any large farming operation was the ditching machine, here drawn by 12 horses and pushed by 4 more, forming a V-shaped irrigation ditch.



and allowed to scatter over Kern Island to drive out and ruin settlers, and retard and destroy the prosperity of the country, equal to a warlike invasion. Common fences are no defense against wild and starving cattle. As the time of harvest approaches, fields require guarding night and day.²⁶

Because the farm population was concentrated on Kern Island proper, the Agricultural Society in 1871-1872 asked for a "no-fence" law that would apply to the island only. But as the logic of the "no-fence" law became apparent, supporters of the law realized that local application would only cause severe hardship on any area not covered by a "no-fence" law. That is, if a "no-fence" law in effect drove cattlemen out of one county, the men would, if permitted, simply drive their herds to an area where unlimited grazing was still permitted. The *Courier* quotes "a gentleman of high social standing" and obviously a prominent cattleman as one who had changed his mind on the fence question:

"... it will be found better by cattle owners in the condition to pay rent for their grazing grounds, and be assured of its entire use, than to be subjected to the present unlimited and grasping competition."²⁷

A meeting of the Agricultural Society was held in April, 1872 at the Bakersfield town hall in which both farmers and local stockmen agreed that a "no-fence" law was needed:

Our cattle owners have been very generally in favor of a (no-fence) law. Their range is ample, without encroaching upon the tracts held for cultivation, and they manifest a disposition to restrain their stock within those limits where they can do no damage to the farmers.²⁸

Farmers and local stockmen alike were determined to no longer permit stock "from abroad" to enter the county. In a series of resolutions, they agreed to form a "Settlers' Protective Association," for the purpose of lobbying their cause effectively throughout the state. Further evidence that cattle "from abroad" dominated the valley is to be found in the statement by Jesse O. Cole in 1871:

There are over 60,000 head of cattle in this valley, below the foothills, from the lower edge of the county up to Kern Lake, that have been driven here by men living in other counties. If other counties do not own this valley for pasture, they come so d—d near it, it's not worth quarreling about.²⁹

Because the country was wide open, traveling

about on other than horseback could be unsafe as a person on foot exposed himself to the "vicious cattle" to be encountered anywhere. Parents complained that "these vicious beasts make the attendance of the children at school risky and often dangerous."³⁰

A major obstacle to the passage of a "no-fence" law was the local state Senator, Thomas Fowler, who was also a prominent cattleman and vigorous opponent of any "no-fence" law. He owned a third interest in some 15,000 or 20,000 cattle and was known to be a violent opponent of settlement, railroads, and cultivation.³¹ As the Joint Senator from Tulare and Kern Counties, he openly boasted that he had killed "no-fence" legislation in the past and would do it again at the next legislative session. Fowler paid a private visit to Bakersfield in 1873, just prior to the election, and was accompanied by Henry Miller of the Miller and Lux cattle company. When asked at the local saloon if he would express himself on the fence question, he gracefully waived the subject, protesting that his was a non-political visit, offered the questioner a drink, and thus avoided the topic.³²

While the farmers were struggling over the fence question, the Southern Pacific Railroad was building a line from Oakland down the San Joaquin Valley to Bakersfield and through the Tehachapi Pass to Mojave and Los Angeles. It was commonly believed that once the railroad reached Bakersfield (and it did in 1874) the "no-fence" law would be inevitable. This conviction was based on the assumption that railroad access would stimulate commerce in Bakersfield and encourage settlement by providing a ready and inexpensive means of transporting farm products to San Francisco. No doubt the railroad did play a major role in the shift from a pastoral to an agricultural

economy in the San Joaquin Valley.

The major reason why the Kern Island farmer did not want to enclose his 160 acre farm was the high cost of fence materials. Protesting that light fences are worse than none at all, a Kern Island farmer posed the problem he and others faced:

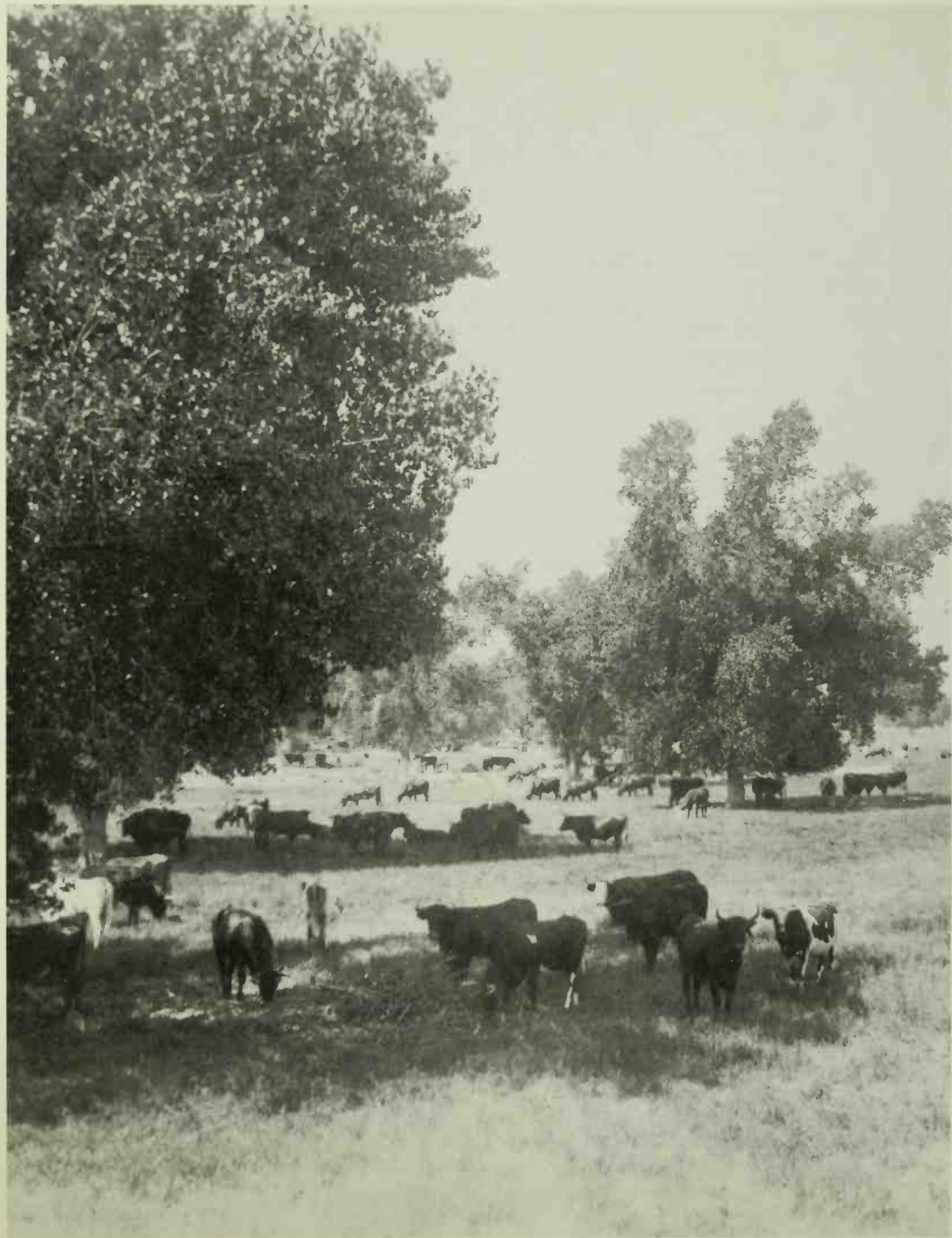
Substantial fences are entirely beyond our means. Just look at the cost and see how hopeless such an undertaking becomes. To fence in this island, in fences of 160 acres each, with the necessary roads and lanes — to say nothing of sub-dividing these farms into fields — will require at least five hundred miles, or 160 rods of fencing. At four posts and five boards to the rod this will require 640,000 posts and twelve million eight hundred thousand feet of boards. Now suppose we could get the posts at five cents a piece, and the boards at but little over half their present cost, say \$30 a thousand, and we have the neat little sum of four hundred and sixteen thousand dollars before we begin to count the nails and labor of construction.³³

According to one estimate, using the methods available in 1870, it would cost \$2,240 to fence 160 acres. That was an amount of money simply not available to the average farmer. Even had it been economically possible to fence in the farms of Kern Island, the farmer still would have objected to stray cattle:

"Fence" means the old order of things . . . while "no-fence" means that the stock raiser must fence in his cattle and confine them to a stated and, of course, comparatively narrow domain.³⁴

So the farmer's "no-fence" position was formed by a combination of factors: the high cost of fencing, his conviction that Kern Island was best suited for agriculture, a demand that his property (crops) be protected by law, and the special bitterness reserved for "interlopers" or cattle from outside the county.

Even before the actual "no-fence" law was passed in 1874, several prominent cattlemen anticipated its passage and began enclosing their herds. Their will-



ingness to do so was undoubtedly helped along by the invention of barbed wire in the early 1870s. This technological advance sharply reduced the cost of fencing and made it possible for the stockman to fence in large areas of land at comparatively low cost. The combined technology of the railroad and barbed wire made it possible for Miller and Lux, owners of an immense tract of land lying between Goose and Tulare Lakes to fence in their agricultural holdings.³⁵ In a quite literal sense, the incoming railroad brought both the farmer and barbed wire, and the cattleman was obliged to use one to contend with the other.

It should not be supposed that the state legislature that finally enacted the "no-fence" law on February 4, 1874 was a model of decorum and propriety. Historian Robert Glass Cleland has characterized that political body of the 1870s as "dishonest, mediocre, and confused."³⁶ The enactment of the no-fence law was in no sense an instance of a legislature seeking reform or consciously pursuing justice. Instead, this body, which was frequently described by newspapers of the day as "extravagant, useless, and corrupt" was reacting largely to political pressure and to what the increasingly numerous farmers called "progress."

The Southern Pacific Railroad stood to gain greater profits from productive farms and prosperous towns than from any scanty business derived from the open range cattle business. Further, the railroad was anxious to sell to farmers land granted to it by the U.S. government. It follows that any railroad influence on the "fence" question would support the farmer. The 1873 defeat of Senator Thomas Fowler, representing Tulare, Fresno, and Kern Counties, in an election which focused on the "fence" question, certainly gave clear indication of the shifting sentiment in the San Joaquin Valley. The victor in the election was Tipton Lindsey, a Democrat and advocate of the "no-fence" law. The "No-Fence" law itself was introduced in the Senate by Lindsey, and in the Assembly by Fresno's John W. Ferguson. These legis-

lators reflected well the wishes of the valley's farmers to close off the open range, fence in destructive stock and thus protect the tiller of the soil.

Neither should one assume that this law captured the attention of the entire state at the time of its consideration and passage. While the "fence" question was of obvious and demonstrable importance to residents of the central valley, the peculiar conditions that gave it importance there simply did not exist in other places. Those necessary ingredients included large amounts of arable public land at first open to cattle and sheep grazing, but later "susceptible" to the homesteading farmer. Outside the central valley, California was largely either mountainous, desert, or, along the coast, privately owned. The central valley was the most likely place for an ordinary farmer, using irrigation, to settle on either public or railroad land and expect to prosper.

A contemporary Senator, William J. Shaw, in describing the session of 1874, barely mentions the No-Fence law in his summary of that year's legislative accomplishments. Instead, he was irritated by a lengthy laundry list of trivial laws passed, rendering discussion of any serious matter impossible. He off-handedly refers to a law that "prohibited horned cattle from running about in some of the counties."³⁷ But indifference and perhaps even corruption at the state level does not detract from the importance of the passage of the law to valley residents.

The "No-Fence" Law of 1874 did not require anyone to either build or tear down his fences. However it strongly favored the farmer's interests by providing that the "owner of land" may take up and safely keep any stray animal at the expense of the stockman. The law further provided that the farmer need notify the stockman of the possession of stray animals only if he could identify the owner and if he lived within six

miles. For each head of horned cattle retained by the farmer, he was to be compensated twenty five cents per day by the eventual claimant. The farmer could recover damages done to his property by court suit, filing in the Justice Court if the damages asked were under \$300 and in the District Court if in excess of \$300. If the owners of the stray animals could not be located, the animals would be sold at auction, and any proceeds were used first to settle any damage claim. In the event of an "overplus," the proceeds were given to the proven owner if he could be located within six months and, if not, then to the local school fund. The law made it a felony offense for any person to attempt to "take advantage of this act" by moving stock from a farmer's field if that stock had been identified as trespassing on the farmer's property. The sole requirement placed upon the farmer was to mark his 160 acres "with visible and well defined monuments." The editor of the *Courier* suggested to his readers that they build strong corrals in which to enclose stray animals, as if to anticipate that the problem would continue in spite of the law.³⁸

The passage of the law unquestionably stands as the symbol of change in Kern County from a pastoral to an agricultural economy. The year of its enactment also witnessed the arrival of the railroad, the formation of a brass band, and the dedication of the first church building in Bakersfield.³⁹ These seemingly unrelated events in fact represent the emergence of a permanent community from what had been a collection of farm settlements. The editor of the local paper sensed the importance of the law's impact upon the community:

The passage of this law, for which the friends of progress in this county have labored arduously, under every sort of rebuff and discouragement for years, marks a new era in our history — one from which will be dated our first real advance in population, improvement and wealth. Hitherto, the herds of wild cattle and the men who owned them, free from all restraints of law, as far as regarded the most

essential rights of property in others, have been too much for the ordinary pioneering forces of civilization.⁴⁰

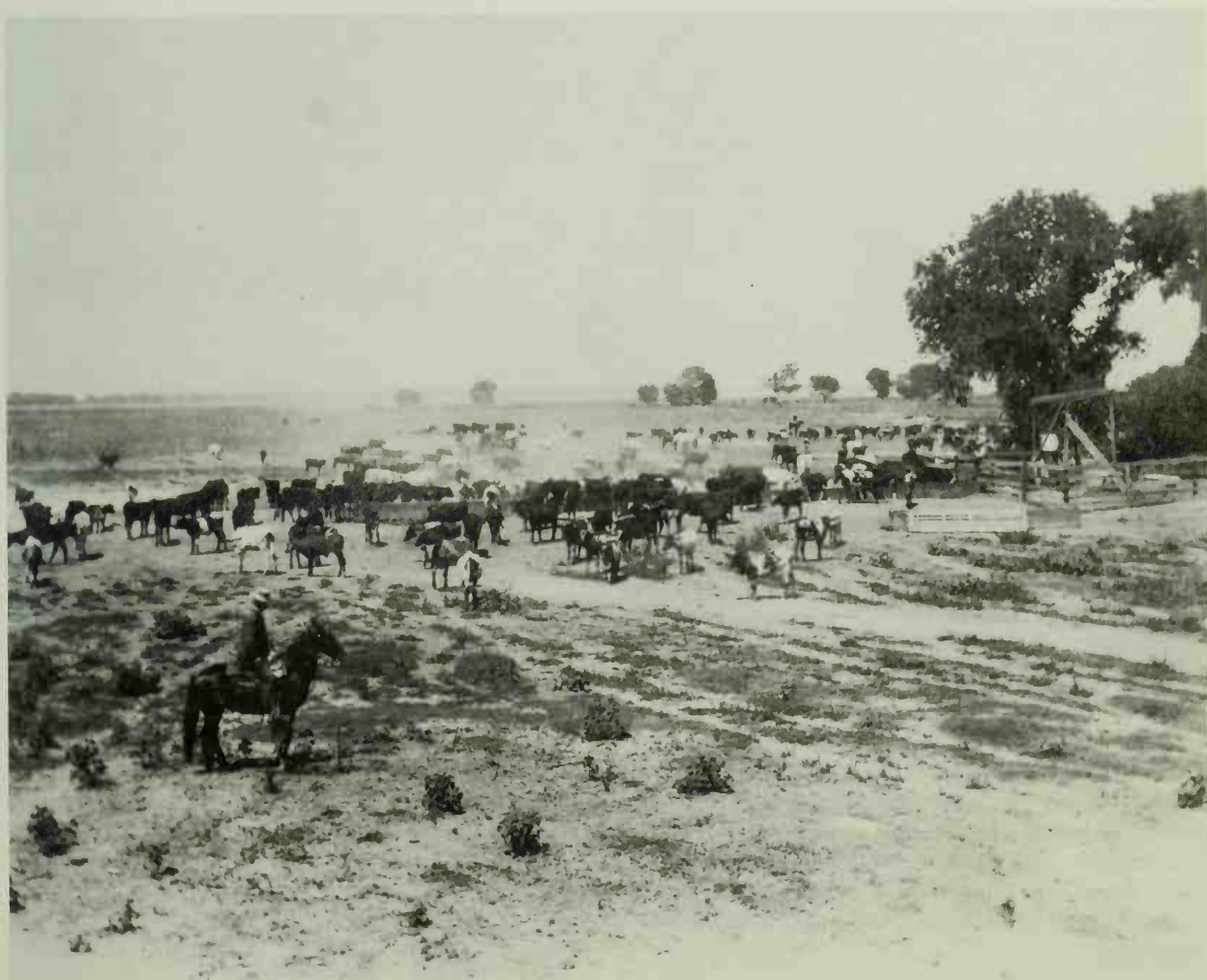
The passage of the "no-fence" law did not bring an abrupt end to the controversy surrounding stray animals and the respective rights of the farmer and cattleman. The farmer had gained a signal victory in the legislature, but it would be several years before a series of court decisions combined with practical experience would clarify precisely the rights of the farmer as well as those of the stockman. Stock continued to graze on the hills surrounding the southern San Joaquin Valley, and rodeos were held annually. The *Courier* reported in 1875 that the mountains south of Kern Island "are said to be full of cattle, and the grazing and water are unequalled in the country."⁴¹ A year later a rodeo was held at San Emidio with 5000 head of cattle in sight.⁴² With such a large number of cattle in the foothills, it was inevitable that some would meander into Kern Island and even Bakersfield:

There is a good deal of complaint about loose stock running in our streets. A few nights ago Mr. Lennox had three fine eucalyptus trees, that were growing in front of his residence, ruined by some vagrant stock. The gardens too, east of town, are frequently invaded; the most substantial fences being insufficient to keep them out. There is but one mode of redress that we are aware of, and that in the trespass law. Cattle have no right to run at large, and any one has a right to corral them and sell them according to law.⁴³

While local stockmen in general agreed with the correctness of the "No-Fence" law in its application to Kern Island, they believed that areas chiefly desirable for grazing purposes should have been excluded from the effects of the law. In Kern County, the stockmen of the mountain valleys were particularly convinced that the law adversely affected their interests.

In 1877, the California Supreme Court, in *J. V. N. Young v. Wright* handed down a decision regarding

By 1880 the larger cattle ranchers had fenced in their grazing animals, and were systematically supplying water from wells and ditches and feed from their own alfalfa and hay fields.



the "no-fence" law which appeared to weaken the farmer's position. John Wright, a resident of San Luis Obispo County, in 1876 took up one thousand and fifty sheep and, when the owner, J.V.N Young, refused to pay damages and feeding costs, the plaintiff filed a complaint with the nearest Justice. The Justice,

upon hearing the case, ordered Wright to pay \$25 damages and \$218.75 "cost of keeping." On appeal, the Supreme Court reversed the decision, arguing that the action was in essence a proceeding in equity to enforce a lien. That is, the case involved a transfer of property (in this instance a fine imposed by the

Cattle branding at Bellevue Ranch. When cattle were handled entirely in open country, the reata or lasso was the principal means of catching and holding them.



court to pay damages and the cost of keeping) and could not be settled by a mere Justice Court. Lacking a jury, the defendant would be denied his constitutional right to a jury trial if he chose to contest the Justice's decision. The Supreme Court rendered a similar decision in *Sutherland v. Sweem* a year later by concluding that:

We hold that so much of the Act of February 4, 1874 ("no-fence" law), as attempted to confer upon Justice Courts jurisdiction in the class of cases provided for in the Act, is unconstitutional and void, and were not admissible in evidence for any purpose.

The total effect of these decisions was to make it more difficult, but not impossible, for the farmer to file a complaint in court under the "no-fence" law.

Now he must seek redress in the District Court, usually a more distant jurisdiction and likely to be more expensive. In an article entitled "The No-Fence Law Emasculated," the writer explained:

The evil effects of this decision will be that when the owners are unknown and the damages light, persons suffering from the depredations of roving stock will be debarred a remedy, as the cost and trouble will be too great to allow of prosecution.⁴⁴

In 1878 the state legislature passed an act designed to meet the farmer's objections to the first "no-fence" law. Though it did not apply to either Tulare or Kern County, the law is noteworthy as a political effort to satisfy the farmer's demands state-wide that stock be enclosed by fencing. The 1878 law provided that

complaints raised by farmers be filed in District Courts only, thus avoiding the constitutional question raised in *Young v. Wright*. It further provided that the District Court "is always open for the purpose of entering judgment." In other words, the Clerk of the Court could receive any complaint in the resident Judge's absence. Thus, a farmer traveling a great distance could be assured that he could file a complaint during the business hours of the nearest District Court. The 1878 law, though limited in its application to certain counties, would nevertheless have the total effect statewide of the Supreme Court henceforth rendering judgments more favorable to the farmer's position.

The halcyon days of the open range in Kern County were brought to an end by 1878. The cattleman could clearly see that his future lay in enclosing and perhaps even diminishing his herds. The arrival of the railroad in 1874 insured ever greater numbers of settlers in the future. And in any legal contest over land and water rights, the farmer had the enormous advantage of owning the land he operated on. When the farm population had sufficiently grown by 1874 to pass the "no-fence" law, the cattleman had no choice but to make use of the newly-invented barbed wire to contain his stock. The cattleman was not defeated by the farmer in the 1870s; he was simply fenced in.

All of the photographs are by pioneer photographer Carleton E. Watkins and are reproduced here through the courtesy of the Kern County Public Library.

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20. *Ibid.*, May 25, 1869.
21. *Kern County Weekly Courier* (Bakersfield), March 22, 1870.
22. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1873.
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The MacGowan

Not long after 82-year-old Grace MacGowan Cooke died on June 24, 1944, at the home of her daughter Katharine near Los Gatos, California, the *Times* newspaper in distant Chattanooga, Tennessee, published an article entitled "The MacGowan Girls."¹ The paper wished to pay tribute to Grace and her sister, Alice MacGowan, daughters of Col. John Encill MacGowan, editor of the *Chattanooga Times* from 1872 until his death in 1903.

The MacGowan sisters had moved to California in 1908 to join the literary colony at Carmel-by-the-Sea. They had already achieved wide popular success with their novels, short stories, essays, and poems, a success that began as early as 1888 with the publication of Grace's first magazine stories.² Most of their work was done jointly; they also collaborated with Annie Booth McKinney in Knoxville, Emma Bell Miles and Caroline Wood Morrison in Chattanooga, and Perry Newberry in California.

Among the novels published by the sisters were *Mistress Joy* (1901) by Grace MacGowan Cooke and Annie Booth McKinney; *The Last Word* (1902), by Alice MacGowan; *A Gourd Fiddle* (1904), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *Return and Hulda* (1905), by Alice MacGowan; *Their First Formal Call* (1906), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *Judith of the Cumberland* (1908), *The Wiving of Lance Cleaverage* (1909), and

The Sword in the Mountains (1910), all by Alice MacGowan with contributions from Emma Bell Miles;³ *The Joy Bringer* (1913), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *William and Bill* (1914), by Grace MacGowan Cooke and Caroline Wood Morrison; and *The Million Dollar Suitcase* (1921), *The Mystery Woman* (1924), *Shaken Down* (1925), *The Seventh Passenger* (1926), and *Who Is This Man?* (1927), by Alice MacGowan and Perry Newberry.

Alice MacGowan was born in Perrysburg, Ohio, on December 10, 1858, and Grace was born in Grand Rapids, Ohio, on September 11, 1863. The children moved to Chattanooga during the Civil War with their mother, Malvina Johnson MacGowan, who brought them down from Ohio in August of 1865 to join Col. MacGowan, provost marshal in the Union army occupying the city. Alice's earliest memories were of "the little battle-smitten, mud-gullied town full of blue-coated soldiers" where they ate at the Colonel's mess, went to bed at "taps," attended school taught by the post chaplain, and played in the earthworks of Redoubt Lytle or Fort Sheridan.⁴

When the army disbanded in the spring of 1866, Col. MacGowan elected to remain in Chattanooga, as did many other Union officers and soldiers. After practicing law for several years, Col. MacGowan became editor of the *Chattanooga Times*, a position that he continued to hold after publisher Adolph Ochs acquired the paper in 1878. When Col. MacGowan died on April 12, 1903, at the age of 72, his wife and a son, Frank, had predeceased him. He was survived by his daughters Alice and Grace, his son-in-law, William Cooke, and two

Kay Gaston's credentials include a B.A. from Vanderbilt University, an M.A. from Tulane University, and a summer as a contributor in non-fiction at the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference. Her most recent publication is an article entitled "Emma Bell Miles and the Fountain Square Conversations" in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 1978).

Girls



This double portrait of Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke was made prior to 1910. It appeared in The Lookout on September 25, 1915 with the notation that their recent play, Pageant of Monterey, had been a feature of the California Exposition.

grandchildren, Helen and Katharine Cooke.

Grace had married William Cooke on February 17, 1887, a "charming, radiant, and happy" bride dressed in brown brocade velvet. The groom waiting for her in the chancel of the First Presbyterian Church was a well-liked newcomer from Virginia, the junior partner of the bride's brother in the printing firm of MacGowan & Cooke.⁵

After the marriage Grace had begun working for her husband and brother as a bookkeeper at wages of \$3 a week; and following her day's work at the printing office she wrote stories for magazines. Later she reflected in her journal that she had not been fitted for matrimony but was "made for motherhood," a joy she discovered with the birth of two daughters.⁶ She and William Cooke lived together happily enough for twenty years, however, until a break resulting from "differences in temperament" led to her departure from Chattanooga in March of 1906.⁷ Grace, Alice, and the children first went to visit friends in Rockford, Illinois; from Illinois they moved on to Virginia, and then to Helicon Hall, a Utopian writers' colony in New Jersey recently established by Upton Sinclair.⁸

On October 4, 1906, Sinclair had announced the purchase of Helicon Hall, a former private school on the Palisades near Englewood, N.J., for \$36,000, all but \$10,000 on mortgage. He funded his experiment in cooperative group living with a portion of the \$30,000 in royalties from his popular book *The Jungle*. The *New York Times* wryly commented that Helicon Hall was "filled with everything that the traditional ascetic does not want," enumerating a

swimming pool, bowling alley, theater, pipe organ, glass-covered central courtyard with a fountain and a giant rubber tree, and a four-sided fireplace.⁹

Living in the colony were socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, single-taxers, New Thoughtists, and spiritualists. Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke worked alongside Professor W.P. Montague of Columbia; Professor William Noyes of Teachers College; Edwin Björkman, critic and translator of Strindberg, and his wife, suffragette Frances Maule; Michael Williams, the future editor of *Commonweal*; and a literary janitor from New Haven named Sinclair Lewis, whom the MacGowan sisters called "Hal."¹⁰

Grace and Alice probably came to Helicon Hall at the invitation of Michael Williams and his wife, Peggy, whom they later followed to Carmel-by-the-Sea. The sisters had been looking for a suitable place to write when they came to Helicon Hall. Grace reported that she found it "delightful" and its people "full of brotherly love and good feeling," but she also thought it was noisy and its aims "inchoate."¹¹

She and Alice had already discussed the need to find a small apartment in New York where they could work without interruption before a fire, early on the morning of March 16, 1907, destroyed Helicon Hall. A workman was killed and eight of the seventy occupants were seriously injured. Among the injured were Grace MacGowan Cooke and Alice MacGowan, who were sent to Englewood Hospital. Grace had a sprained back and was suffering from shock; Alice's injuries were similar though not as serious; and the two children, Helen and Katharine, were unharmed.¹²

The *Chattanooga Times* reported that Upton Sinclair had been running through the halls waking sleeping writers, when he heard shrieks coming from the rooms occupied by the MacGowan sisters. Sinclair smashed in the door and shouted to the women to

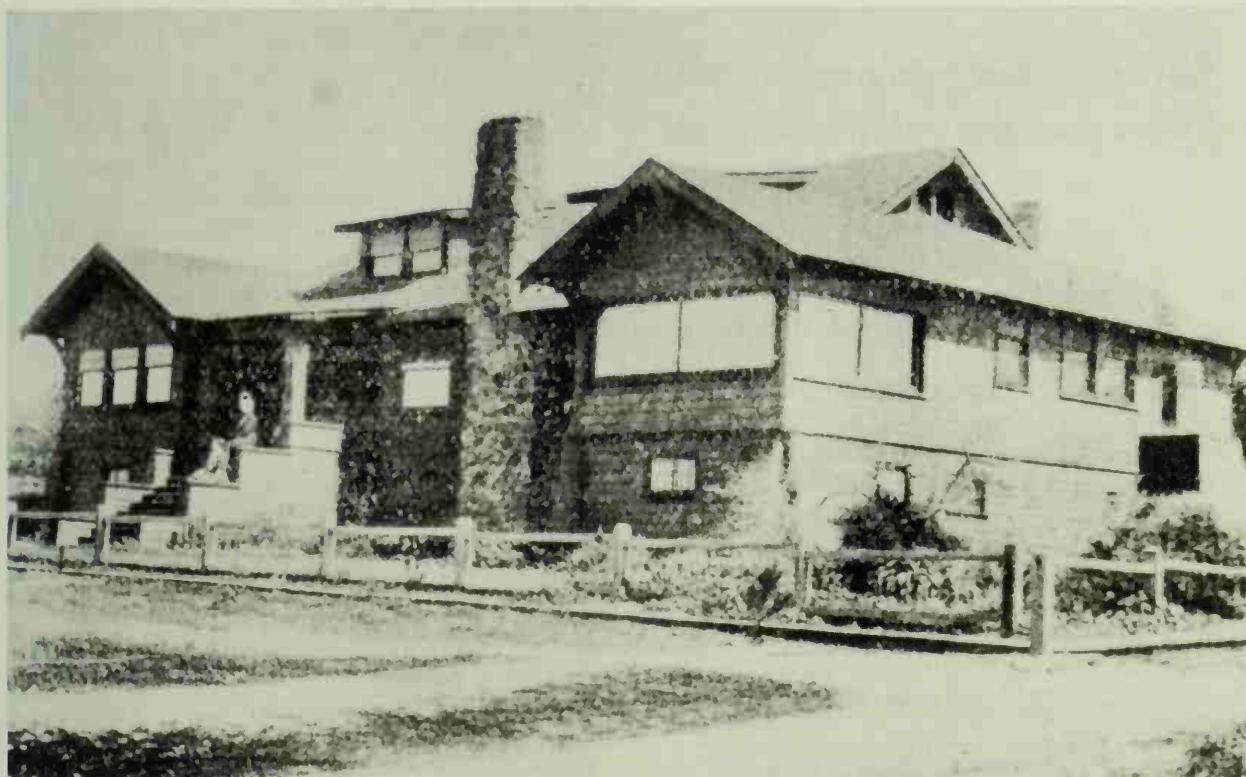
follow him to the staircase. They entered the hall but were almost overcome by smoke, so they retreated to their rooms, carrying the children. Sinclair ran back into the room, picked up a chair which he used to smash out a window, and leaped to the ground.¹³

Professor William Knoll was just passing by, wrapped in a blanket. Grabbing the blanket, Sinclair unfolded it to make a life net with the assistance of Knoll and two other men. "Drop the children into the blanket!" Sinclair shouted. The women tore the children's arms from around their necks and let them fall unhurt into the blanket. "Mrs. Cooke came next," Upton Sinclair told reporters, "and being quite a heavy woman, her weight ripped the blanket to pieces and she went through injuring herself very badly. Miss MacGowan jumped last. In her descent she struck a stone coping and was quite badly hurt though not so seriously as her sister, Mrs. Cooke."¹⁴

The Helicon Hall fire received considerable attention in the May issue of *The Nautilus*, a New Thought magazine published and edited by Elizabeth Towne.¹⁵ Grace MacGowan Cooke, a contributor of poems and articles to the magazine, wrote Mrs. Towne that she regarded the Helicon Hall experience as "a good hard lesson." Although she and her sister had lost all their personal possessions and manuscripts in the fire, they were not discouraged and had resolved to take their work more seriously than before.¹⁶

After the Helicon Hall disaster, *The Nautilus* continued to publish poems and articles by Grace and to keep readers informed of the movements of the MacGowan sisters. "Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke are seeking a quiet place near N.Y. for their winter's literary work," Mrs. Towne reported in October, 1907, giving their address as Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts. In February, 1908, Mrs. Towne recommended that her readers purchase Grace MacGowan Cooke's new book, *Son Riley Rabbit and Little Girl*.¹⁷

Alice MacGowan and her sister, Grace MacGowan Cooke, purchased this bungalow at Carmel in 1909. Built by Eugenia Mabury for her own occupancy, it fronted the bay at a spot later known as "Cooke's Cove."



The following month she reported that Grace and Alice were looking for a ranch home for next summer in Arizona, New Mexico, or California for themselves, the children, and a stenographer — “a nice place big as all outdoors, good board, plenty of horses to ride and the washing all done for them.” “Grace says she has tried ranch life before and knows how to dress for it,” Elizabeth Towne continued, “but she draws the line at washing even a pocket handkerchief.”¹⁸

That spring, in April, William Cooke filed for divorce from Grace MacGowan Cooke on the grounds of desertion. The petition for divorce read in part that

the complainant “has never been cruel, nor even unkind to any of them. For a long time he tried to overcome the estrangement, but the defendant has told him not to come wherever she is, and she has made it clear . . . that she will lead no other life than one of celibacy, retirement, and intellectual effort. Complainant avers that his marriage contract did not contemplate such a life.”¹⁹

When the petition was filed the MacGowan sisters were living in Douglaston, New York, where Sinclair Lewis came to visit and discuss an idea for a three-way collaboration on a book to be called *Ecce Homo*. The MacGowans spent the summer of 1908 as

"They worked from morning until midnight, stopping only for meals and an afternoon drive."

patients in a sanatorium at Kirksville, Missouri, where they were treated for lingering effects of the injuries suffered at Helicon Hall. Late in November they departed for California, arriving at Carmel-by-the-Sea in early December.

The Carmel of 1908 bore no resemblance to the Carmel of sixty or seventy years later:

Indeed, there was no community. There was only the old Mission San Carlos Borromeo, and then, where the fragile clutter of Carmel crowds up and away from the sea today, only the clusters of weirdly gnarled cypresses and the great stands of Monterey pines, the white sand, the indigo sea or, sometimes, in Jack London's words, 'the amazing peacock blue' and a mile-long sweep of breaker across the breadth of the bay.²⁰

The first writers to settle at Carmel were novelist Mary Austin and San Francisco poet George Sterling. Sterling built a redwood bungalow there in 1905, attracting other writers and artists until there was a community of around 50. Short-story writer Jimmy Hopper, Russian writer Anna Strunsky, and Michael and Peggy Williams were already permanent residents of the community when the MacGowan sisters arrived in 1908.

Grace and Alice bought a two-storied, half-timbered house located on a cliff above the beach at what came to be known as "Cooke's Cove." The house had a fireplace and a picture window looking out over the bay. It had been built by a woman architect, Eugenia Mabury, for her own occupancy.

Less than a year earlier, the house had been elaborately described in *The House Beautiful*; illustrating the article was a painting of the house by the late Sidney Ward, a well-known artist on the coast.²¹

Soon after their arrival, in late December, the sisters wired 23-year-old "Hal" Lewis, inviting him to come serve as their secretary and collaborate on the book they had discussed in Douglaston. In "all of ten hours" Lewis accepted their offer, which carried with it a train ticket from New York to California, and set off across the country by day coach. On January 5, 1909, Grace noted in her journal, "Hal walked in at lunch time."²²

For a little over a year Sinclair Lewis lived in a shack on the beach near the MacGowan house; that spring he shared his modest quarters with friend William Rose Benét. During the summer the two young men were hosts to *The Nautilus* editor Elizabeth Towne and her husband, William E. Towne, who were visiting the MacGowan sisters. Through the influence of Grace MacGowan Cooke, Mrs. Towne accepted for publication two stories by Sinclair Lewis, "The Smile Lady" and "The City Shadow."²³

Years later Sinclair Lewis described the Carmel of 1908 as "a drift of redwood bungalows lost among the pines." He and other residents of this "California mirage" picnicked among the rocks and did almost anything they pleased "among the eucalyptus, the poppies, the rafts of kelp agitated by the pale green-glass breakers." For food the carefree Lewis was dependent on the almost daily picnics given by Grace and Alice, consisting mainly of abalone and Spanish beans.²⁴

When Lewis left to find a job in San Francisco in March of 1910, Grace MacGowan Cooke wrote in her journal that "Hal proved impossible, went his way."²⁵ Her daughter Katharine recalled that Lewis had made an inappropriate remark in German about Helen, with whom he had been enamoured for some



Alice MacGowan on the beach at Carmel

“After dinner they read aloud the finished work. . . . As literary collaborators they were charming, sympathetic, and invariably wise.”

time — that brought his stay with the MacGowans to an end.²⁶

During the summer of 1910 the MacGowan sisters experienced a break in their literary partnership. In August Grace was thrown sharply back on her own resources after Alice insisted on working independently of her sister. Despairingly, Grace confided to her journal that she had always done her best work in collaboration on someone else's manuscript, adding that she loved to display her skill at “producing plots and enrichments that belong in other people's enterprises.”²⁷

By November she was reconciled to the situation and was packing for a trip to Oraibi in Arizona's Hopi country. This expedition was designed to gather material for a new novel that Grace would entitle *The Joy Bringer*. For several months Grace and her daughters lived in the desert among the Indians. The stenographer who had accompanied them fled after only a few days, leaving Grace to do her own typing for the first time during her literary career,²⁸ and probably to wash her own handkerchiefs as well.

Her adventures in the desert enabled Grace to create a setting that rises above a contrived romantic plot to provide an important documentation of Hopi village life. Her keen appreciation of Hopi customs and craftsmanship is apparent both in her novel and in an article entitled “Experiences in the Desert” that she wrote for *The Lookout*, a Chattanooga society

*Carmel residents pose on the beach about 1909. Top (left to right)
Charmian London, Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan
Cooke. Bottom: George Sterling, Jimmy Hopper, Jack London
and Carrie Sterling.*



magazine. Although she and the children cooked, ate, slept, and wrote in a one-room Indian house, the novelty of their situation kept them constantly stimulated. They frequently observed Indian dances and ceremonials on the mesa, taking advantage of opportunities not available to the casual tourist.

On the way out of Oraibi they stopped at Ganado to spend three days as the guests of J. L. Hubbel, the world's most extensive dealer in Navajo rugs. His log and adobe house with its big stone fireplace was "richly beautiful with its rug-covered floor, its walls a tapestry of good paintings, admirably chosen photographs, and its ceiling a treasure of Indian baskets set in lines between the big beams."²⁹ Many of the paintings had been commissioned by Hubbel, who sent artists out to obtain red chalk drawings of every tribe and type of Pueblo Indian and to document scenes of a way of life that was fast disappearing.

One cold, rainy afternoon Grace MacGowan Cooke sat in the warehouse observing Hubbel and his assistants bale rugs for shipment. "One after another rugs that would have charmed you, combinations of the natural colors of white, black, gray and the brown goats' wool, conservative splashes of good dye judiciously placed, square after square was held up, its weave classified as 'fair,' 'good,' 'excellent,' its weight given and its value set down. The rain fell outside, the big brown room was a riot of color on its floor and over the boxes and chairs."³⁰

Grace's fascination with the operation at Ganado extended to J. L. Hubbel himself, whom she studied "covertly as wielders of the pen have a trick of doing." Although she insisted the man and his surroundings were "quite too romantic for any writer to put into a book,"³¹ put them into a book she did, with an overlay of her own characters and plot. The result was *The Joy Bringer*, published in 1913 by Doubleday, Page & Company.

While Grace was in Hopi country, Alice MacGowan and Garnet Holme were writing the play

Chattanooga, a dramatization of Alice's novel *The Sword in the Mountains*, a Civil War story set in Chattanooga and on nearby Walden's Ridge. In this enterprise they also consulted by mail Emma Bell Miles, the writer who had originally assisted with the novel and done sketches to illustrate it, and Caroline Wood Morrison. Some of Mrs. Morrison's suggestions were incorporated into the play.³²

Grace successfully completed her novel with very little help from Alice, and must have gained confidence from its success. Eventually she and Alice reconciled their differences, however, writing together *The Straight Road* (1917), *Wild Apples* (1918), and *The Trail of the Little Wagon* (1928). Collaboration was apparently an essential part of their creative process, whether it was undertaken together or with other writers.

Caroline Wood Morrison, with whom Grace wrote *William and Bill*, described her relationship with the MacGowans in a paper she gave to the North Chattanooga Book Club in 1913:

Many have asked me about collaboration. I can tell you about the MacGowan-Cookes, who always worked together or with a partner. They had an office, a stenographer, tables, books of reference. Someone wrote the story first by herself, then laid it out like a subject for the operating table. Paragraph by paragraph they went over it, often cutting whole pages up into puzzle pieces and refitting them — sentence by sentence — the last part of a chapter often coming first or being put at the beginning of another chapter altogether. They worked from morning until midnight, stopping only for meals and an afternoon drive. After dinner they read aloud the finished work. Often they would tear up a page, call in the stenographer, redictate it to her and go at something else while she typed it. It was delightful work for me. I thoroughly enjoyed it. As literary collaborators they were charming, sympathetic, and invariably wise.³³

The MacGowan sisters were not awarded the lasting recognition accorded to some writers in the colony at Carmel-by-the-Sea, but they achieved greater

*Alice MacGowan was
photographed by her sister's
grandson, Leon Wilson,
about 1932.*



financial success. Over a period of many years they comfortably supported themselves and two children on the income from their novels, which sold well, and from stories, articles, and poems appearing regularly in a wide variety of popular magazines.

Often their subjects were surprisingly adventurous. In *The Power and the Glory* Grace wrote about cotton mill working conditions. *Wild Apples* was the story of a young woman who chose to bear an illegitimate child and make a life with it. In both these novels the MacGowan sisters took a feminist viewpoint.³⁴ They wrote a series of stories for *Everybody's Magazine* exploring the racial question in the South. Grace assembled valuable ethnic material for her Hopi novel, as did Alice for her three books set in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee.

Certainly the MacGowan sisters contributed substantially to the emergence of women writers in the early twentieth century. As residents of the Carmel

writers' colony, which has been described as one of the forcing beds for the renaissance in American literature of the 1920's,³⁵ the sisters contributed to the development of other writers as well. They were active in the Forest Theater Society from its founding in the spring of 1910. Alice MacGowan took the part of Astar, a Princess of Annalek, and Helen Cooke portrayed Michal, daughter of Saul, in the first production, Constance Skinner's *David*, on July 9, 1910.³⁶

After Helen Cooke married Harry Leon Wilson, author of *Ruggles of Red Gap*, in 1912, Alice and Grace served as his editors. Although the Wilsons were divorced in 1927, they had two children, Leon and Charis, who live in California today. In 1940 Grace and Alice assisted them with the completion and publication of *When In The Course*, a novel by Harry Leon Wilson left unfinished at his death in June of 1939.³⁷

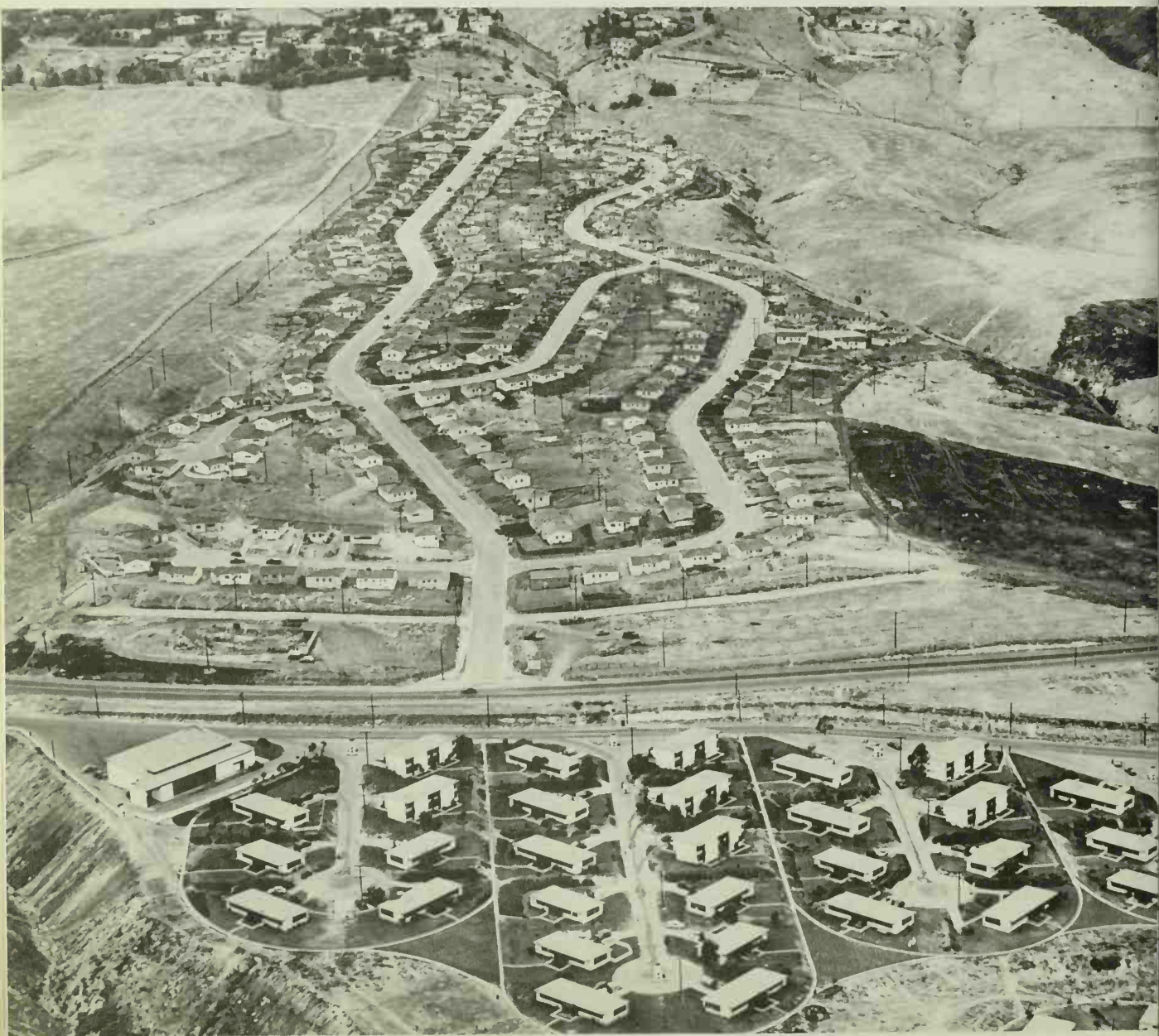
When Grace MacGowan Cooke died in 1944, Fred

Bechdolt wrote, "Among the most lasting of the memories she left behind are a gentle voice and gentle ways, and a great patience." Three years later when Alice died on March 10, 1947 at the age of 89, Bechdolt recalled her vivid personality: "She was never uninteresting. She was always eager. And, above all, she was always kindly."³⁸ The MacGowan girls from Tennessee had come a long way both in distance and in time, leaving behind them a trail of stories, poems, articles, and books that spanned half a century.

The photographs of Miss Alice MacGowan, Mrs. Grace MacGowan Cooke and the bungalow at Carmel are from *The Lookout* magazine. The group portrait of the MacGowan sisters on the beach with Jack London is courtesy of The Book Club of California. The photo of Alice MacGowan in old age was made available by Leon Wilson.

Notes

1. *Chattanooga Times*, August 9, 1944.
2. Ted Durein, "Colorful Carmelite is Dead" (miscellaneous clipping dated June, 1944)
3. The MacGowan sisters did not formally acknowledge the contributions of Emma Bell Miles to these books, although Alice dedicated *The Wiving of Lance Cleaverage* to her. In her letters to Anna Ricketson, Mrs. Miles stated that the MacGowans had given her a typewriter for assisting them with *Judith of the Cumberland*; references to this assistance also appeared in the Chattanooga papers. Descriptive passages and characters in the work of Emma Bell Miles so closely resemble material used in these three novels that it seems appropriate to acknowledge the contributions of Mrs. Miles, even though the MacGowans did not.
4. Alice MacGowan, *The Sword in the Mountains* (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1910), pp. v-vi.
5. *Chattanooga Times*, February 18, 1887, p. 10.
6. Grace MacGowan Cooke, *Journal* (The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, 1909-1915), n. p.
7. *Chattanooga Times*, April 23, 1908, p. 6.
8. *Chattanooga News*, March 16, 1907, p. 1.
9. Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life* (New York, Dell Publishing Co., 1961), p. 112.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
11. *The Nautilus*, IX (May, 1907), p. 9.
12. *Chattanooga Times*, March 17, 1907, p. 1.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2. Both sisters may have been more seriously hurt than was indicated by newspaper accounts. In his letter to me of November 14, 1979, Leon Wilson speculates that Grace and Alice broke their backs in that fire, as they were "conspicuously bent forward" the rest of their lives.
15. *The Nautilus* was a monthly with national circulation. It promoted the healthy-minded, positive attitudes of the New Thought movement, but also tended to exploit religious and dietary fads. An example is Grace MacGowan Cooke's article in the issue of January, 1908, on "The Spiritual Meaning of Fletcherism" — Fletcherism meaning a method of chewing food thoroughly as proposed by one Horace Fletcher.
16. *The Nautilus*, IX (May, 1907), p. 9.
17. *The Nautilus*, IX (October, 1907), p. 6; and X (February, 1908), p. 6.
18. *The Nautilus*, X (March, 1908), p. 2.
19. *Chattanooga Times*, April 21, 1908, p. 4.
20. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, pp. 145-46.
21. Franklin Walker, *The Seacoast of Bohemia* (Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), p. 65; *The Lookout*, III (September 4, 1909), n. p.
22. Sinclair Lewis, "I'm an old Newspaperman Myself," *Cosmopolitan* April 1947, p. 155; Grace MacGowan Cooke, *Journal*.
23. *The Nautilus*, XI (August, 1909), p. 32; and XI (September, 1909), p. 2.
24. Lewis, "I'm an Old Newspaperman Myself," p. 155.
25. Cooke, *Journal*.
26. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, p. 151.
27. Cooke, *Journal*.
28. *The Lookout*, IX (August 10, 1912), p. 269.
29. Grace MacGowan Cooke, "Experiences in the Desert," *The Lookout*, XV (July 12, 1913), n. p.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Cooke, *Journal*.
33. *Chattanooga Times*, c. 1938 (miscellaneous clipping).
34. Leon Wilson to Kay Gaston, November 14, 1979, p. 3.
35. Michael Orth, "Ideality to Reality: The Founding of Carmel," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVIII (September, 1969), p. 195.
36. *The Lookout*, V (July 9, 1910), n. p.
37. Grace MacGowan Cooke to Leon and Charis Wilson, February 12, 17, & 29, 1940, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. These letters relate to the publication of *When In the Course*. In his letter of November 14, 1979, to me, Leon Wilson states that the novel was readied for publication by Alice and Grace because of their "long-understood, informal relationship" with his father's novels. The editorial relationship was described to him by Grace after Harry Leon Wilson's death.
38. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, p. 148; *Carmel Pine Cone-Cymbal*, March 14, 1947.



The Channel Heights Housing Project, San Pedro, California, about 1942.

City Planning and the Federal Government in World War II

THE LOS ANGELES EXPERIENCE

One important topic in American urban history that has attracted recent attention is the development of city-federal relations in the twentieth century. Several studies provide a close analysis of the response of the national government to various local demands and needs. Particularly significant are Daniel J. Elazar's perceptive articles on intergovernmental activity, Blake McKelvey's treatment of the changing relationships between metropolitan areas and the federal government, Harry N. Scheiber's assessment of national urban programs, and Mark I. Gelfand's excellent study of city-federal affairs from 1933 to 1965.¹ Except for Gelfand's work, however, these studies have little to say about the crucial role of the national government in city planning during the Second World War. The war years provided a rich opportunity for local planners and federal officials to establish programs that could serve as a basis for postwar metropolitan renewal.² Probably in no other urban center was long-range, general planning given the vigorous support that it received in Los Angeles. Municipal authorities, professional planners, and

civic leaders confidently looked to Washington for new aid programs to finance public works and urban redevelopment.

Los Angeles city planning experienced significant changes during the 1930s depression. The city engineer had assumed primary responsibility for federal work-relief programs and local subdivision regulation. This authority led to an erosion of the Planning Department's functions and responsibilities. In the process, public works projects were not arranged and coordinated according to a general plan of community development.³ "Los Angeles developed along no preconceived lines of procedure, with no rhyme or reason to guide," William H. Schuchardt, vice-president of the planning commission, bluntly told a charter revision committee in December, 1940. "Such planning as had been done was sporadic and partial with no attempt at cooperation between the various groups responsible for some one phase of development."⁴ Faced with this deplorable situation, the charter committee, composed of leading business and professional people, drafted a set of amendments designed to enlarge the scope and authority of public planners in Los Angeles. Passed by the electorate in May, 1941, the amendments created a new city planning department, provided for a director of planning to administer the agency, and established a coordinating board composed of the mayor and principal de-

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"When the war ceases, Los Angeles must . . . assist in helping hundreds of thousands of people from a war economy to a new and satisfactory peace economy."

partment chiefs.⁵ The planning commission selected Charles B. Bennett, who had come to Los Angeles in 1940 from Milwaukee where he had supervised the Board of Public Land Commissioners, to be the new planning director. Bennett headed the coordinating board and was responsible for the preparation of a master plan for the city's physical development.⁶

Los Angeles authorities, however, could not agree on the proper role of economic considerations in metropolitan planning. The beginning of World War II quickly ended this dilemma. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's program of military mobilization led to a great expansion of industrial firms in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco. Los Angeles, with its big aircraft plants and climate suited to year-round testing and production, received large orders for planes and other military hardware. By September, 1943 the metropolis had won over \$8.5 billion in war production contracts. The aircraft and shipbuilding industries attracted thousands of newcomers to Los Angeles, especially large numbers of racial minorities. Employment in Los Angeles County rose from 1,198,000 in April, 1940 to 1,600,000 by June, 1944. The county's aircraft industry employed more workers than all other manufacturing plants combined.⁷

City planners greeted these developments with considerable apprehension. They were gloomy about achieving a peacetime urban economy free of widespread unemployment in the midst of productive

capacity. Only the demands of the war provided work for the newcomers; it followed that mass idleness would mark the transition from war to peace in the metropolis. "When the war ceases, Los Angeles must . . . assist in helping hundreds of thousands of people from a war economy to a new and satisfactory peace economy," planning commissioners Remsen D. Bird and William H. Schuchardt told Mayor Fletcher Bowron in 1942. "An important public works program, whether financed by government or by private capital, but one that should be of lasting value, is a possibility . . . in this vital and, we think, necessary adjustment."⁸ The California State Planning Board likewise saw the major postwar problem as one of "providing useful employment for all our people." This, they agreed, was essentially a responsibility for planning that should be centered in qualified government organizations.⁹

Few federal agencies were better equipped to instruct cities on postwar adjustment than the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB). It had established an Urban Section in 1941 with the responsibility to see that municipal affairs be emphasized in all areas of national policy. Staffed with lawyers, economists, planning consultants, and other experts, the board assumed the lead in proclaiming the necessity of the nation being ready for the period of demobilization and reconversion to peacetime functions.¹⁰ "After planning to win the war the most important planning problem is that of avoiding an economic dislocation at the termination of the war," stated the board in its annual report on resources development transmitted to the President in December, 1941. "That task takes the form, in part, of planning a course of action that will induce a continued high level of productivity, and, in part, of planning for the many elements that must be included in any program of economic security."¹¹ Conditions in Los Angeles illustrated this concern. After closely studying south-

ern California's wartime economy, the board's Pacific Southwest regional office in 1942 predicted a large surplus labor supply in the Los Angeles area with the reduction of aircraft production and shipbuilding at the close of the war. Returning veterans would also be looking for new jobs. The board pointed out that public works projects could provide temporary employment until surplus plant capacity could be converted to new domestic uses. Furthermore, the arrival of workers in unincorporated county districts had placed considerable strains on existing community facilities. The board stressed the need for new public services and better highway systems in these suburban areas.¹²

More important to the NRPB was the function of programming in large-scale city rebuilding. It pointed out that the physical facilities and equipment needed to provide essential services were variously termed public works or "public improvements." Programming involved the scheduling of public improvements according to relative need and available financial resources. This procedure, argued the board, necessitated the application of "progressive planning" for measuring projects in terms of their relation to postwar community growth. Charles S. Ascher, director of the Urban Section, advised cities not to "rush in with projects" that simply repeated or perpetuated "bad patterns of the past — either physical or institutional." He urged that public works be closely related to "rough sketches of the directions and forms which community development should take."¹³

The California State Planning Board agreed. It invited Arthur G. Coons, professor of economics at the Claremont Colleges and the Los Angeles representative of the NRPB, to conduct research on the industrial and physical growth of Los Angeles for the preparation of long-term plans. One of the aims of the study was to assess the impact of the war on the

"The future position of Los Angeles among the great cities of the world will be largely determined by how we plan and how intelligently we put our plans into operation. . . ."

region and point out major environmental problems. With the help of a research economist from the state planning agency, Coons closely examined traffic patterns, housing conditions, and governmental services. Published in 1942, the survey revealed serious deficiencies in local physical facilities. Especially alarming were congested streets and highways, insufficient housing, few recreational centers, and inadequate sewage disposal. The two economists urged the preparation of a backlog of public works to meet Los Angeles' wartime and postwar needs.¹⁴

Similar disruptions of public facilities occurred in cities across the nation. Wartime mobilization had aggravated housing shortages and traffic congestion.¹⁵ These problems, along with a deterioration of basic municipal services such as fire and police protection, aroused much concern in Washington. Greatly enlarged by New Deal programs, the federal government responded more quickly than it had in previous administrations to major developments in urban centers. President Roosevelt worried about the possibility of widespread unemployment and inadequate local services after the war. Drawing on the 1942 annual report of the NRPB, he recommended to Congress the enactment of legislation to provide funds for local and state governments in the preparation of public works programs. Representative Walter Lynch of New York introduced a "Federal Aid Planning Act" in May, 1943. The bill authorized

The county plan provided for an expanded system of freeways designed to permit the movement of auto traffic throughout the metropolis with greater speed, safety and efficiency.

the President to advance \$75 million to state and local agencies for public works planning. More importantly, the measure required that federal aid be advanced only for the processing of those projects which, when constructed, would be in accord with a long-term plan for community, regional, or state development.¹⁶

Municipal authorities and professional planners in Los Angeles had no quarrel with this arrangement; they shared the conviction of other big-city administrations that the changes brought by the war offered a better opportunity than had existed before for integrating social and economic factors into the planning process. Since 1900 the aim of public improvements was to meet the human and commercial needs of rapidly industrializing cities and promote the growth of local economies. New Deal relief programs reinterpreted these goals to place emphasis on putting unemployed people to work.¹⁷ This income redistribution reappeared as a new matter of economic equity and human opportunities in the wartime designs of city planners. "There is an increasing tendency on the part of the planner to begin his work now with a study of the economic and social influences at work in the community," observed the NRPB in January, 1943. "As a result, the plans are beginning to include recommendations to establish . . . a program for full employment of the area's population based on a full utilization of all its resources."¹⁸

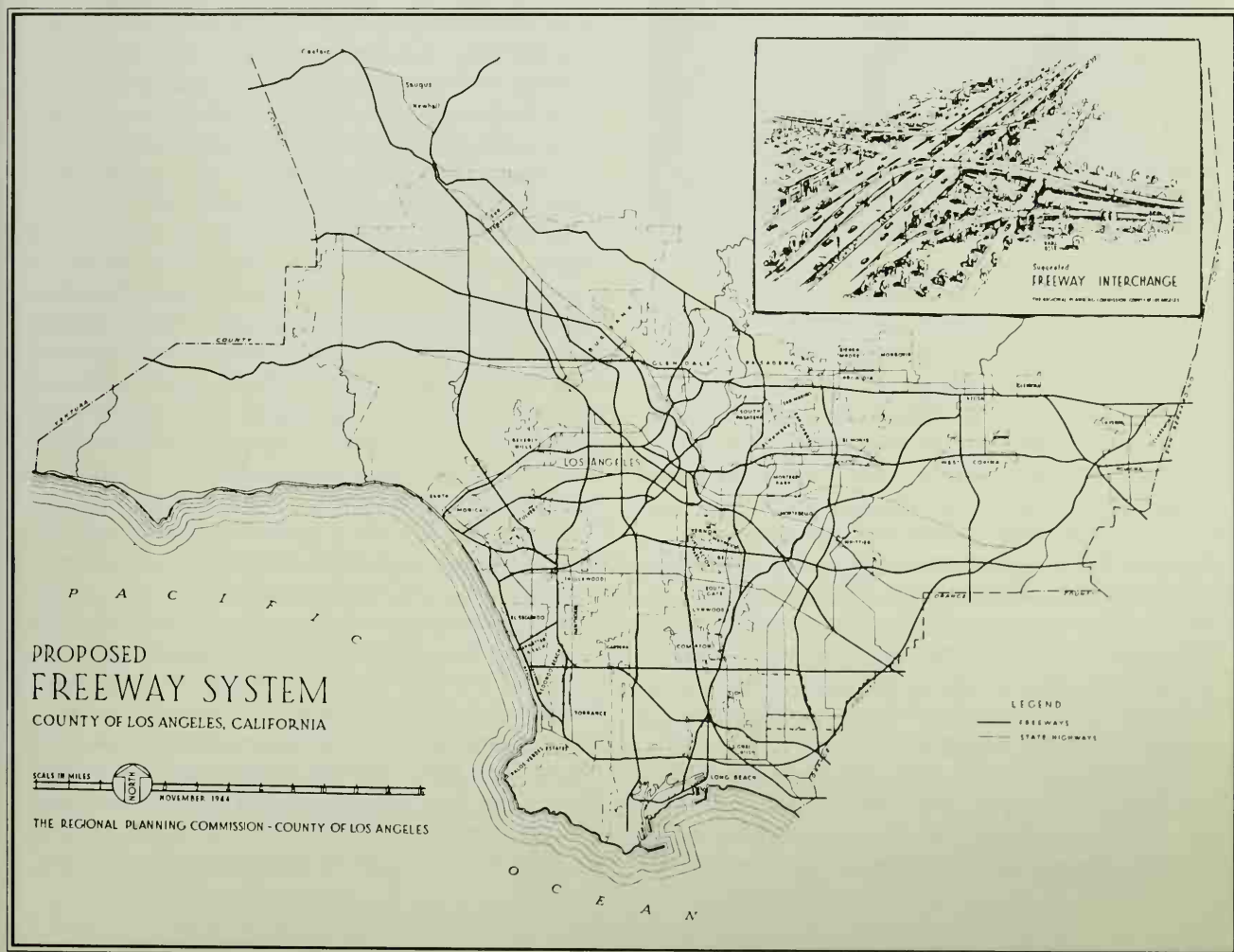
This activity was accompanied by constant support from the NRPB. The agency vigorously promoted planning by state and local governments, continued to study regional economic trends, and maintained its committees on such specific resources as land, industry, transportation, and urbanism. Many congressmen, however, resented these varied activities of the board. Others denounced its proposal for a comprehensive national program of health, education, unemployment insurance, and old age assistance as "socialistic." These critics sponsored a bill that abolished the NRPB in August, 1943. But by this time city governments from coast to coast had embraced the board's gospel of wartime planning and started preparations for the period of readjustment.¹⁹

Few cities matched Los Angeles' wartime concern with postwar urbanization. "Our planning," Mayor Bowron announced, "must be intelligent, constructive, and based on all known factors . . . The future position of Los Angeles among the great cities of the world will be largely determined by how we plan and how intelligently we put our plans into operation following the war."²⁰ Public planners could not have said it any better. Differences existed among them, however. The businessmen who sat on the planning commission accepted urban sprawl as inevitable and hoped merely to make the old city more liveable. Professional planners, especially those with formal training in landscape architecture such as William Schuchardt, L. Deming Tilton, and Milton Breivogel, envisioned a fundamental reorientation of Los Angeles' growth along a more orderly and controlled dispersal. They advocated greater government regulation of land use in various residential areas.²¹ Both groups, however, agreed that new programs of federal aid would be needed to achieve any broad metropolitan reconstruction. "Those cities that participate first, and to any great degree, in Federal aid will be the ones that are ready to go when

the signal is given," stated planning director Charles B. Bennett in 1943. "We won't be ready to go until we have precise plans and specifications available for bids."²² With a 1943 budget increase from \$77,000 to \$133,000, Los Angeles planners outlined a master scheme of metropolitan development needed to evaluate the desirability and validity of improvement projects. The plans included surveys of population dispersal and industrial growth, maps indicating

shortages of basic community facilities, and various land use proposals.²³

At the same time, city department heads began processing a projected \$707 million list of postwar public works projects to determine which ones should have priority on the basis of need and the city's ability to finance them with local revenues. Mayor Bowron in April, 1943 told a Senate subcommittee on military affairs that 300,000 war work-





*Charles B. Bennett, Director
of the Los Angeles City
Department of Planning*

ers and their families had entered metropolitan Los Angeles since 1940. Close investigations by the local Housing Authority had revealed numerous cases of overcrowding and inadequate sanitary facilities, particularly among black families in the central city. It was the responsibility of the federal government, Bowron asserted, to help city officials provide these workers with adequate housing and essential services.²⁴ The public works program included proposals for sanitary sewers, new sewage disposal plants, public health buildings, additional fire stations, and street improvements. Planning director Bennett worked closely with department chiefs on the coordinating board in relating these projects to land development schemes in the areas of housing, transportation, and recreation.²⁵

Complementing this activity was the work of the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission. During 1941 and 1942 the agency helped local housing officials, the city planning department, and

the Federal Public Housing Authority conduct surveys to determine sites for accommodations to house thousands of war workers and their families. By mid-1943, fifteen federally owned housing developments had been built near suburban factories and in the harbor area.²⁶ Especially impressive was architect Richard J. Neutra's Channel Heights Project located above San Pedro. This 160-acre hillside site enjoyed a splendid view of the Pacific and had only 3.7 families per acre. It also provided schools, a health center, shops, nurseries, park area, and a community hall.²⁷ These facilities, along with adequate sewage systems, were not available in some of the other public housing developments. The Regional Planning Commission singled out federal housing policies for special criticism for "creating physical and social problems which demand carefully thought out corrective plans to be prepared to replan and salvage whole communities. . . ."²⁸ It prepared a \$679 million list of community improvements which it estimated would employ some 250,000 persons in the first year after the war. This program included proposals for new sewer systems, government buildings and schools, acquisition of additional park sites, flood control works, and highway construction. The commission, after a series of public hearings, also drafted master plans on land use, recreational development, and freeways. The plans, among other functions, were to serve as a means of appraising the merits of various projects in the public works program.²⁹

Very important was the freeway scheme to alleviate Los Angeles' growing traffic congestion. Local and state officials, with funds from the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration, had completed construction of the Arroyo Seco Parkway (later renamed the Pasadena Freeway) in 1941 and opened units of the Cahuenga Freeway (later a section of the Hollywood Freeway) in 1940 and 1942.³⁰ The county plan provided for an

expanded system of freeways designed to permit the movement of auto traffic throughout the metropolis with greater speed, safety, and efficiency. It also indicated the stages in which the new highways might be developed according to future residential dispersal.³¹

This expansion of county planning coincided with a major change in the state program, resulting in part from the federal government's emphasis on providing new employment after the war for returning veterans and workers made jobless by the closing of wartime factories. The California legislature in 1943 replaced the state planning board with a postwar planning agency specifically concerned with problems of readjustment. "Sharing the responsibility with the local communities and with the national government, the State must be prepared to take emergency measures, if necessary," proclaimed the new Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission. "There must be adequate plans for the protection of groups of people against the hardship and suffering which could result from the lack of prompt and satisfactory expansion of the peacetime economy."³² The agency prepared reports on manufacturing and population trends of urban areas, investigated the possibilities of broadening educational and recreational services, and did special research designed to expand service industries and develop vocational training programs.³³ It also promoted public works planning among city and county governments. The state legislature in 1944 boosted this activity by appropriating \$10 million of state funds for the preparation of plans and specifications for postwar community facilities.³⁴

Public works projects, however, could only provide employment for a relatively small percentage of all those Angelenos who would need new jobs after the war. Secondly, Los Angeles planners, despite the federal government's insistence on a locally prepared comprehensive plan, had not integrated their land use

schemes into a flexible general plan for the entire metropolitan region.³⁵ It would thus be difficult for government authorities to evaluate construction proposals and choose the best sites for new public works.

More disturbing were the political barriers that kept professional planners on the rim of metropolitan decisionmaking. Land use policies ultimately required the approval of city councilmen and county supervisors. These politicians, mindful of the great expense in drastic physical rearrangements, might not allocate huge outlays of public revenues for the building of specific facilities that they saw as poorly located or of inadequate capacity. Very concerned about this possibility, the *Los Angeles Times* in 1943 stressed the important role of the city council in postwar planning and urged more cooperation between the mayor and council "in order to achieve the most good for the greatest number of citizens."³⁶ Furthermore, the fragmentation of jurisdictions and the number of other local agencies that had stakes in metropolitan development could easily hinder the application of public works plans and regulations. "Here . . . we have a metropolitan area of which we are all rightly and justly proud, the third largest concentration of population in America," Mayor Bowron told a meeting of prominent Los Angeles attorneys in November, 1943. "But in this area we have numerous local political boundary lines, separating jurisdictions of cities and county areas, each with a legal right to plan, impose regulations, grant franchises, license, zone, and to a limited extent, control and regulate transportation and traffic upon streets and highways."³⁷

This multiplicity of governmental units suggested that agreement to carry out various postwar projects might come very slowly, if at all. Public works programs, on the other hand, promised more cooperation among local, state, and federal agencies. The

expectations of widespread unemployment and severe shortage of community facilities in the reconversion period had imbued Los Angeles planning with a social consciousness and intense desire to improve the quality of urban life that had sometimes been lacking in the past. In this atmosphere, neighborhood conservation and central city redevelopment became major areas of postwar plans. Like other big cities during the 1930s that had exported its middle- and upper middle-class population to suburban communities,³⁸ Los Angeles had blighted districts and slums that sapped its municipal treasury and victimized many inner-city residents, particularly large numbers of ethnic minorities. "Those of us who live in Los Angeles know there is something wrong with the land use of the city," industrialist Sumner Spaulding informed a subcommittee of the Senate Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning in 1943. "We have large blighted areas, large slum areas, and others just above the blighted state . . . If we could rebuild these areas so they are satisfactory places for people to live, we have established an insurance for the downtown area, and made a place where people can live healthy, satisfactory lives."³⁹

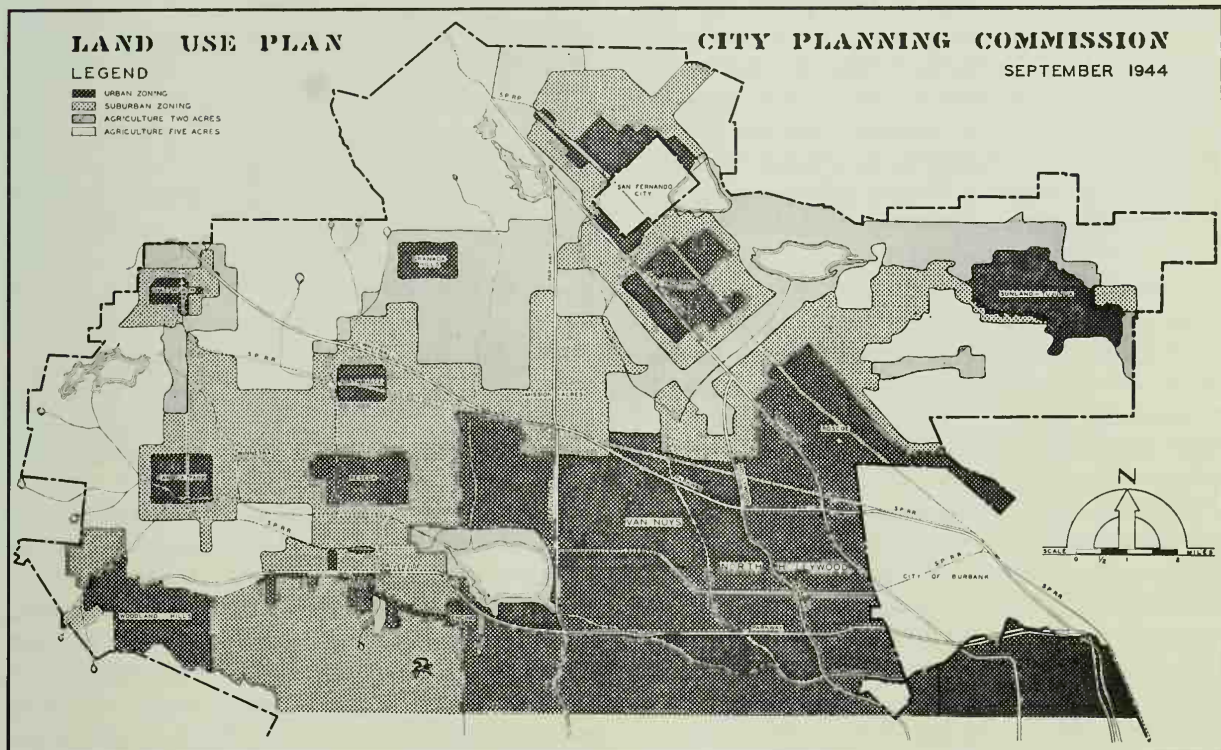
Proposals for achieving these goals found their way into federal legislation. Especially important was the program drafted by Guy Greer, the senior economist of the Federal Reserve System, and Alvin H. Hansen, professor of economics at Harvard University. In a pamphlet published by the National Planning Association, Greer and Hansen recommended the creation of a federal agency to make loans or grants of federal funds for the elimination of slums and blighted areas. The new urban agency would also provide technical aid to local planning commissions.⁴⁰ With the help of Alfred Bettman, a Cincinnati authority on zoning law and chairman of the legislative committee of the American Institute of

Planners, the two economists put their proposals in a "Federal Urban Redevelopment Act." Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah introduced the bill in April, 1943. Two months later the Urban Land Institute, the research affiliate of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, persuaded Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York to present the "Neighborhood Development Act." It authorized the National Housing Agency to make loans to cities or counties for the purchase of land and buildings designated for redevelopment.⁴¹

The Thomas bill attracted considerable support from public planners in Los Angeles. They believed that the leprous decay and human disorganization associated with badly blighted districts demanded a nationwide housing and redevelopment program based on comprehensive physical planning. The Thomas measure provided for the establishment of an Urban Redevelopment Agency to administer the grant-in-aid program. All federal loans to cities, including those for public works projects and the acquisition of land, would be contingent upon the agency's approval of a local general plan with precise development proposals. Los Angeles planner Milton Breivogel confidently wrote that the bill would enable cities "to carry out substantial redevelopment projects in the blighted areas."⁴²

Downtown bankers and realtors, however, found more to savor in the proposed Urban Land Institute measure also under consideration. Like business groups in other major central cities, they were worried about the spread of slums that threatened their investments in land and buildings. Redevelopment could also open up valuable but deteriorated sites for new corporate investment. Town Hall, a local organization of prominent businessmen and professionals, accordingly stated that governmental agencies would be forced to accept responsibility for redevelopment if private enterprise failed "to play

A Land Use Plan for the San Fernando Valley in 1944 proposed that 66.2 square miles be zoned for urban uses.



a major role in the initiation and execution of a program of urban development.”⁴³ The Urban Land Institute bill contemplated this leading position for private business in central city rebuilding; municipalities would use federal funds to purchase badly rundown neighborhoods and then let commercial interests take care of the reconstruction. The bill also guaranteed local control of redevelopment projects.⁴⁴ Los Angeles businessmen, therefore, anxiously awaited this chance to initiate the city’s rebuilding plans.

The opportunity came in 1943. City planning director Charles Bennett asked the Downtown Businessmen’s Association to help his department

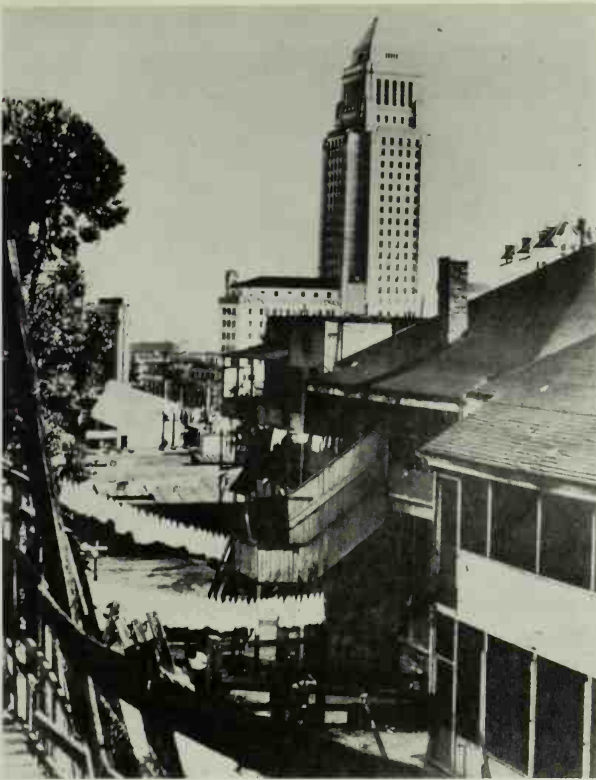
conduct exploratory studies of living conditions and physical facilities in blighted areas. The Association organized the Greater Los Angeles Citizens’ Committee to examine the problem of slums and blight. The Citizens’ Committee investigated Bunker Hill, a residential area on the northwest fringe of the downtown district. Their survey revealed substandard housing, inadequate sanitary facilities, falling property values, and sagging public services.⁴⁵ The planning department conducted further research on the population, commercial activity, and physical structures of other residential districts located near the central business core. Among the worst blighted areas were the Hazard Park district, Prospect Park

area, Chavez Ravine, and John Adams area. Overcrowded houses stood back to back on constricted lots in many neighborhoods and stores, warehouses and homes were haphazardly mixed. There was also a high incidence of communicable diseases and criminal activity. Such districts cost the municipality considerably more in services than it collected in taxes from them. City planners, without asking residents for advice on improving their neighborhoods, proceeded to draft schemes for the clearance and redevelopment of these deteriorated sections. The plans included proposals for the relocation of commercial establishments, building new single-family homes and apartment units, and reduction of street areas. Adequate provisions for schools and recreational facilities were also included in the plans.⁴⁶

Fulfillment of this redevelopment program for central Los Angeles, as in other large cities, depended greatly on what the federal government would eventually do to assist urban reconstruction. Leading proponents of redevelopment in the planning fraternity anticipated a national program to eliminate residential blight and revitalize the economy of the inner city. Public housing reformers had a narrower perspective. "When the welfare organizations and labor unions that supported public housing looked at urban society," Mark I. Gelfand writes, "they saw the slums; when site planners and landscape architects looked at this same urban society, they saw the inappropriate street patterns, poor transportation facilities, obsolete business districts, and aging factories."⁴⁷ The end in view for professional planners was the rearrangement of land uses for better transportation, new commercial and industrial structures, and socially desirable residential areas. Housing reformers saw urban redevelopment solely as a way to destroy slums and provide suitable accommodations for families in every income group.⁴⁸ These competing views of urban rebuilding were dramatized in the hearings of a

subcommittee on housing and redevelopment of the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. Because he had introduced a resolution calling for the creation of a Senate committee to study postwar housing problems, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio was named chairman of the subgroup.⁴⁹ It held hearings in 1945 on various aspects of the housing situation including redevelopment. Among the large number of planners, businessmen, and housing experts appearing before the subcommittee was Cincinnati planner Alfred Bettman. He argued that it would be a "costly mistake" if urban redevelopment was "conceived of as the replanning and rebuilding of slum areas only or the replanning and rebuilding for housing only." Housing, Bettman insisted, should be considered as only one of several possible uses for cleared blighted areas.⁵⁰ The executive director of the National Association of Housing Officials, an organization composed of federal, state, and local authorities directly concerned with housing needs, strongly disagreed. "Granting the desirability of Federal aid to local public works as a valuable contribution to a sound national economy and to the attainment of full employment, I find no deep urge that can justify me in saying that the Federal Government should assume the major part of the obligation of rebuilding the industrial areas and the business districts and the transportation systems of American cities," asserted Hugh R. Pomeroy. "But I can find a valid national interest in the conditions under which the people of the Nation must live, and it is my view that urban redevelopment should begin with a program of slum clearance and neighborhood rebuilding that would have for its primary purpose the enabling of private developers, and public agencies, as necessary, to provide decent homes in decent neighborhoods for American families."⁵¹

Most public planners in Los Angeles supported Pomeroy's arguments. Their redevelopment



schemes, however, could be exploited by those financial institutions and private builders anxious to invest their money in new shopping complexes and office facilities. One local newspaper editor spoke about the "old-fashioned notion that property rights are individual rights, not community rights." The "proper function" of city planning, he insisted, was to "conserve and enhance property values."⁵² Most Los Angeles businessmen and their supporters in the city council would not have said it any differently. Urban rebuilding for them essentially meant profitable investment opportunities and the elimination of economic sickness afflicting the inner city. Planning officials, on the other hand, hoped to channel portions of future federal grants into ambitious programs to provide good housing and suitable living environment for less advantaged and poorer families. They accepted the necessity of educating Los Angeles' economic and political leadership about the advantages of new viable communities in the central city. With the assistance of Town Hall, the planning department drafted a redevelopment bill and presented it to the state legislature in August, 1945.

Representatives of the League of California Cities sponsored the measure, and it became law the following month. The statute provided for a new redevelopment agency in each locality to assemble land and prepare sites for rebuilding. It also required cities to have both a planning commission and master plan before undertaking slum clearance. Local legislatures could not approve a redevelopment project unless the planning commission had first certified it for conformity with the city's master plan. The redevelopment agency had, moreover, to show that adequate housing would be available for persons displaced by clearance operations.⁵³

Confident that the Congress would eventually provide aid for redevelopment, local planners helped the Los Angeles Housing Authority conduct surveys of inner-city living conditions to determine those areas which would qualify for rebuilding under the new state law. Out of the surveys came more detailed reports on the city's badly blighted districts.⁵⁴ The Housing Authority expected redevelopment to provide Los Angeles slum dwellers with adequate facilities; it estimated that there would be a \$25 million federally financed low-rent housing program for the city in the three year period following the war.⁵⁵ The planning department proceeded to incorporate its redevelopment schemes into a new master plan of housing for central Los Angeles. It showed the location of the worst areas of blight and proposed a long-range renewal program involving public and private enterprise. The plan designated some neighborhoods for extensive rehabilitation, others for complete clearance and redevelopment, and still others for protective action to keep them in good condition.⁵⁶

No less important to government authorities and professional planners was effective regulation of Los Angeles' suburban development. After closely studying the housing needs of California's metropolitan

Planning advocates in California pointed out that the social and physical character of cities was greatly influenced by the wider regional distribution of population and resources.

centers, the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission concluded that Los Angeles County would require a minimum of 280,000 new homes during the five year period from 1945 to 1949.⁵⁷ "I appeal to you for help in connection with a critical housing shortage in Los Angeles," Mayor Bowron wrote President Roosevelt in March, 1945. "The situation is so serious that many persons including families of war workers and wives and children of servicemen and returning veterans are undergoing serious privations and many are in actual need."⁵⁸ Much of this needed construction would take place in those suburbs with large areas of vacant land. Furthermore, indiscriminate scattering of subdivisions had caught the metropolis without adequate schemes to guide peripheral growth. These conditions led the Regional Planning Commission to adopt land use plans which reserved appropriate areas for schools, recreational centers, and commercial districts.⁵⁹

Equally important were special problems of war-time growth in the San Fernando Valley. Partly because of new industrial activity, the Valley's population had increased from 112,000 in 1940 to 165,000 by 1945 and was dispersed over an area of 212 square miles. Such a situation placed considerable strains on existing public services and highway facilities. The Los Angeles City Planning Commission in 1945, after several public meetings with representatives of local chambers of commerce, realty boards, and

other civic groups, adopted plans for the physical and social development of communities in the valley. They included proposals for sewage disposal systems, recreational facilities and schools, and community centers. The planning commission also presented a revised zoning ordinance for the entire city that consolidated many separate ordinances and regulations. Each of the residential districts in the valley was to be buffered from areas zoned for agriculture and industry by extensive greenbelts and parkways. The end in view was the development of existing residential areas into independent communities that were prohibited from spreading beyond a preplanned limit.⁶⁰

Such designs for suburban Los Angeles mirrored the desire of leading public planners for more imaginative management of land use throughout metropolitan regions. Catherine Bauer, vice-president of the California Housing and Planning Association, an organization consisting of planners, labor leaders, lawyers, and state and local officials, forcefully described the situation: "It doesn't take a Garden City Utopian to see that the process of industrial decentralization has been tremendously speeded up by the war, and that a major concern of post-war planning and housing must be the integration and protection of outlying communities and even the development of entirely new towns."⁶¹ Planning advocates in California pointed out that the social and physical character of cities was greatly influenced by the wider regional distribution of population and resources. "Suburban and rural slums and blight are increasing rapidly, and very little is being done either to prevent or remedy them," observed the Housing and Planning Association in 1944. It urged that the powers and techniques adopted for central redevelopment be also applied to the construction of socially desirable neighborhoods and new communities in outlying areas.⁶²

This program, however, received little support in Washington. Mel Scott points out that in the 1940s "most Americans in public life . . . dodged the whole issue of metropolitan form. Culturally conditioned to problem-solving and socially rewarded for displaying short-term practicality, they felt more at ease adopting to well-recognized trends and working cautiously within the context of a business-dominated economy."⁶³ The General Housing Bill well illustrated this disturbing situation. Introduced by Senators Taft, Wagner, and Allen J. Ellender in November of 1945, the measure proposed a broad housing program embodying some provisions of the Thomas and Urban Land Institute measures. It provided for a permanent National Housing Agency, authorized the agency to give financial assistance to city planning, provided federal aid for land acquisition in redevelopment programs, and expanded the public housing program by sanctioning the rehabilitation of older structures for lower-income families. The bill, however, gave little attention to suburban sprawl and avoided the problem of regulating new residential growth. It also ignored various proposals for new towns in regional planning.⁶⁴ Four years later the Congress passed a revised version of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. This measure, too, committed the national government to no particular policy of metropolitan development and mainly provided a variety of aids to serve any local program.⁶⁵

It thus remained the primary responsibility of local authorities to make the decisions necessary to achieve a decent and more orderly living environment. Despite the new postwar land use plans and strategies, older patterns of suburbanization and uncontrolled dispersal in the Los Angeles metropolitan area persisted into the 1950s. Many chances for regional regulation of urban sprawl would be lost in the competition among the central city, suburban municipalities, and urban county to provide a rapidly grow-

The postwar decade witnessed much help from Federal and State agencies in the development of flood control works, recreation, public housing, and interstate freeways.

ing population with essential public services.⁶⁶

Wartime planning, however, represented a crucial stage in the developing federal-city partnership. The national government had exercised leadership in public works planning, promoted closer relations between local and state agencies, and stimulated the drafting of urban redevelopment programs. Los Angeles' involvement in this activity resulted from the expectations of considerable financial assistance after the war. City and county planners, while not encouraging federal domination of local reconstruction, realized that large programs of state and federal aid were vital to effectively meet the metropolis' new economic, social, and physical needs. The postwar decade witnessed much help from federal and state agencies in the development of flood control works, recreation, public housing, and interstate freeways.⁶⁷ Serious differences over inner-city rebuilding remained, however. Professional planners envisioned a marriage of private profit and public good in which pecuniary considerations would not overshadow low-income housing needs. Business-minded politicians and local financial elites, looking to Los Angeles' postwar economic interests, only wanted future federal monies to be directed into projects that would revitalize downtown commercial districts. Neither group, moreover, considered wide citizen participation important in the redevelopment process. The result in Los Angeles was the introduction

Douglas Aircraft Company, Long Beach, California, 1945



of the familiar practice of using federal funds to demolish stable neighborhoods, uproot minority families, and replace them with public buildings, office complexes, and expensive apartment dwellings.⁶⁸

This severe perversion of wartime redevelopment plans in the postwar years meant that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for socially responsive city planners and their allies in the national government to overcome the cold considerations and insatiable appetite of the urban marketplace.

The photograph on page 126 is courtesy of the Housing Authority, City of Los Angeles. The Freeway and Land Use plans are courtesy of the Los Angeles County and City Planning Commissions respectively. Charles Bennett's portrait is from the Los Angeles City Planning Commission's *Accomplishments, 1943*. The view of slum housing near City Hall is taken from Mel Scott, *Cities Are For People* (Los Angeles: 1942), p. 97; and the aerial of Douglas Aircraft Company was supplied by Douglas Aircraft.

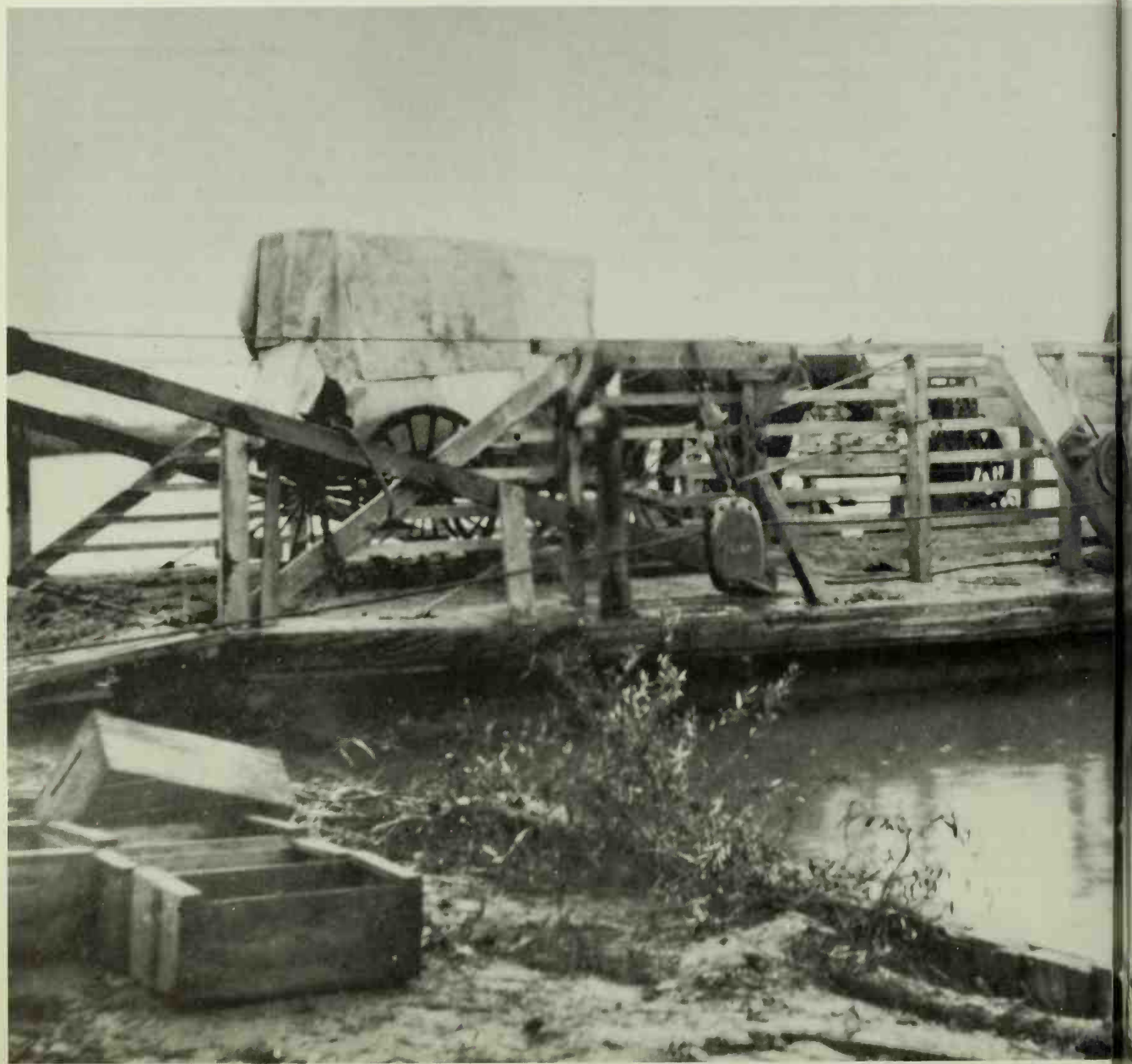
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From waterways to roadways in the



The Alma, Fred C. Lauritzen's ferry at the landing above Rio Vista and near the mouth of Cache and Steamboat Sloughs, about 1900.

Sacramento Delta

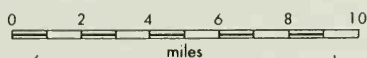


Water carriers transported most of the traffic in commodities and people that arose or ended in California's Sacramento Delta until about 60 years ago.¹ Every village and most farms had access to the waterways that linked Sacramento and Stockton with San Francisco and Oakland, and the world beyond. Yet, the process by which roads in the Delta were changed from functioning as the complements of water-borne commerce to diverters of traffic from the river carriers is virtually forgotten, although the bridges, the all-weather roads and the vehicles that captured the traffic, and stilled river vessels, are very much in evidence today. To trace the evolution of the present circulatory system gives some balance to a popular perspective on the Sacramento Delta which has tended to be waterway-oriented, site-oriented and little cognizant of the roads as relics of the past.

The process by which trails and roads bound the segments of the lower Sacramento River region locally and externally deserves further examination.² These roads, like the artificial levees that transformed the tule swamp into productive land, were built and maintained by landowners. The ferries, too, were local enterprises for many years. The assumption of road maintenance and ferry operation by the counties and the role of local government in building bridges was modest until 1900. It grew apace after 1920, by which time motor vehicles had made serious inroads on the passenger and freight traffic of the water carriers. The public's insistence on better roads in this era resulted in the creation of highway maintenance departments and in the construction of the kind of axial roads which now thread the Delta from north to

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LOWER SACRAMENTO
RIVER AREA
1901



Begin of ferry service

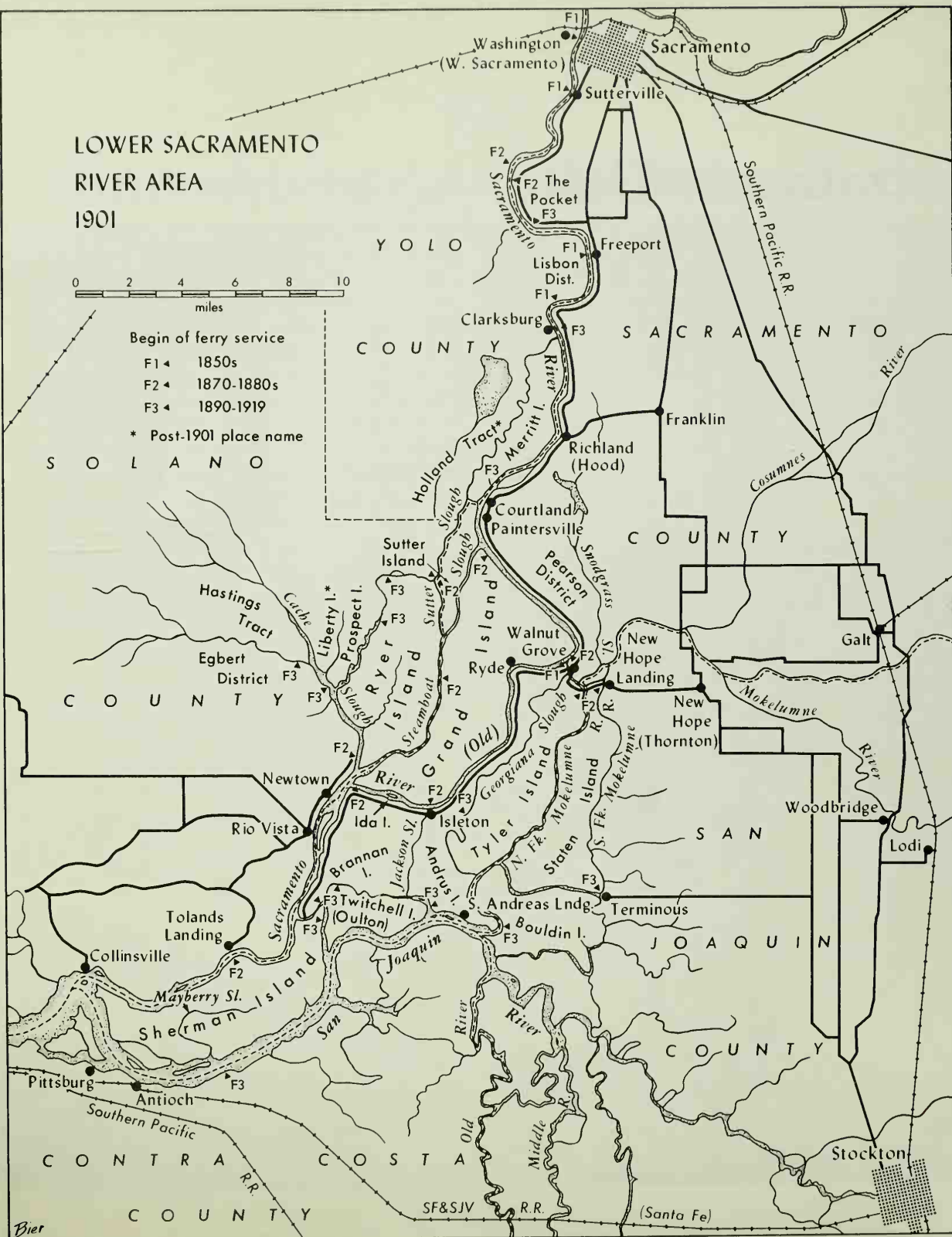
F1 ◀ 1850s

F2 ◀ 1870-1880s

F3 ◀ 1890-1919

* Post-1901 place name

S O L A N O



south and across its grain. While this account focuses upon the lower Delta, notably the part that lies in Sacramento County, perspectives are offered on the development of roads, ferries and bridges in a broader areal context. Such a context involves attention to rail and water carriers, and to tourism.

The first roads in the Delta evolved from trails that followed the relatively firm and well drained crests of natural levees along the Sacramento and its distributaries. These strips of wooded bank land had been selected by settlers for their houses, gardens and fields. The planted areas extended along the gentle inner slopes of the natural levees above the tule or backswamp, where livestock grazed or foraged and where game was hunted. These areas of tule disappeared as sloughs were dammed and artificial levees were raised above the peripheral natural levees; the land was drained, burned and broken. Ultimately the man-made levees became broad enough to support wheeled vehicles. Thus, the trails and roads along the lower Sacramento are about as old as the settlement of farmers and gardeners. The extension of the road system along the natural banks of the lesser channels usually followed effective reclamation of the enclosed tract. Here and there, as on Grand Island, roads might be carried into a tract along the banks of a dammed slough. Those that go straight across reclaimed tracts are relatively recent.

The most important trail, designated a public road in 1857, followed the east bank of the Sacramento River from Freeport to the head of the Georgiana Slough, where Walnut Grove stands. This Georgiana Road was reached from the Capital by way of the Freeport Road or by the longer Riverside Road, which paralleled the Sacramento. A southerly extension along the Old River bank of Andrus and Brannan Islands led to Sherman Island, which gained a public road right of way for much of its length in 1870.³

Water crossings were required at three places along

the axial road between Walnut Grove and Sherman Island. Georgiana Slough, just below Walnut Grove, and Threemile Slough, at the head of Sherman Island, were too broad and deep to be forded. Such seems to have been the case, also, at the head of Jackson Slough, although this segment of the once navigable channel was constricted by a sizeable bar.⁴ It is not known what provision was made to cross Jackson Slough prior to its damming by landowners in 1871.⁵ It is uncertain, too, when boatmen began to operate at Threemile Slough. On the other hand, tradition holds that John W. Sharp, founder of Walnut Grove (1851), soon offered ferry service between Andrus, Tyler and Grand Islands and the mainland bank at Walnut Grove.⁶ Through Tyler Slough and the Mokelumne, Sharp was able to reach the mainland in the vicinity of the present New Hope Landing.

Parting southeastward from the Georgiana Road at Walnut Grove in the direction of Tyler and Staten Islands, New Hope Landing and New Hope (Thorn-ton) was the principal lateral road in the lower river area. Its transit required ferry crossings at Tyler Slough until 1877,⁷ and across the forks of the Mokelumne River. This road, which gave access to Stockton and to other towns on the east side of the Central Valley, was in use in 1877,⁸ shortly before the residents of Staten Island opted for annexation to San Joaquin County.⁹

Through New Hope passed a road which may have been open to Franklin and the Capital before 1878, although in winter it remained impassable at least until 1904. The degree to which it was used by residents of the Delta is uncertain, but it was taken when repairs to the artificial levees along the Sacramento above Walnut Grove disrupted travel. Another alternate route, when it was dry, was the lateral road between Richland (Hood) and Franklin, which dates from the 1850s. It was the route preferred by motorists in transit from the lower Delta

View to the south along the River Road and levee just below the Courtland ferry landing, probably during the high water stage of early 1904. Orchard and buildings stand on land that slopes to the left.

and Rio Vista in the World War I period. The Sacramento to Freeport road, also, was subject to flooding as late as 1890,¹⁰ and probably thereafter.

Road continuity and quality along the west bank of the Sacramento lagged, but by 1894-1900 the present levee-related pattern was established. The lag was related to the recurring difficulty of holding levees against the river's flood crests as these passed between Washington and Grand Island. Invariably, such crests arrived at times when the Yolo Basin was charged with a broad flow from the north. Usually, the strips of land and artificial levees between the Yolo Basin and the Sacramento were not restored until after the recovery of the tracts on the east bank. Residents of the west bank area, disadvantaged by their peripheral location in Yolo County, found the river and the road through Freeport or the Pocket to afford easier access to Sacramento. Ferries arose at various points between Sutterville and Freeport.¹¹

The record of wagon freighting and of stagecoach operations on the roads of the Delta is fragmentary and, given the access to fine service by river carriers, probably was not of great importance. Nevertheless, stagecoach lines are known to have operated between Walnut Grove and Sacramento after 1877, at least intermittently. The service was extended to Isleton briefly in 1897. Service between Walnut Grove and Lodi, established prior to 1904, is believed to have been an extension of the run begun early in 1899 between New Hope, Woodbridge and the railway station at Lodi.¹²

It is evident that the residents of Sacramento rarely drove for pleasure into the lower area of the county. At best, the Sacramentoans of a century ago ventured along the Riverside Road toward the Pocket, unless a lodge picnic or other commemorative event drew them to Beach's Grove, about a mile south of Freeport. By way of the Riverside Road, Freeport was a two-hour carriage ride, which was roughly 40 minutes more than by the Freeport Road.¹³

When Georgiana Road (now River Road) was in good order, as appears to have been the case in 1887, the carriage ride beyond Freeport to Brannan Island could be quite pleasant, notably in the spring and summer. The road traversed an area renowned for its beauty and prosperity. As a viewer put it in 1887:

"A perfect garden.
A sea of orchards
A continuous stretch of vines.
Lovely lawns and beautiful flowers.

It is such sights as these that greet the eye of the traveler along the road from Sacramento to Walnut Grove, skirting along the banks of the Sacramento River . . . With very few exceptions, the fruit farms are covered with magnificent drives, pretty flower patches and bits of green sward, and, above all, there is a beautiful mansion, equal in every particular to the most attractive in our Capital City, and their owners live in lordly style and have a healthy bank account."¹⁴

Such descriptions applied to Andrus Island, "a little bijou," where "some of the richest people" lived. The commentator might have noted that behind the orchards, notably near Courtland, were some large areas of pasture with herds of good dairy stock.¹⁵ The equivalent lower lands off the scenic Riverside Road sometimes were better left undescribed. While ". . . grand old oaks, sycamores, walnuts and cottonwoods, over which creep wild grape vines and climbing roses . . ." ¹⁶ did grace the scene, and there were numerous well tended truck gardens and small dairies along the road, the low land could become blighted for months on end while constrictions in a drainage channel prevented Sacramento's untreated domestic and industrial waste from entering Snodgrass Slough.¹⁷ Perhaps the fear of miasma caused Sacramentoans second thoughts about road travel much below the "Y" Street levee. On the other hand, the roads generally appear to have remained in a deplorable state until about 40 or 50 years ago.



The nature and extent of road usage in the reclaimed lands of the lower Sacramento River is not known, but it may be expected that most of the traffic was between farmsteads or China camps and such service centers as Isleton, Rio Vista and Walnut Grove. Here hotels, bunkhouses, stores and restaurants also catered to such seasonal itinerants as harvest crews, crop buyers, absentee owners and hunters. Crop processing plants did not generate localized heavy road use until after 1903, except for a short time in 1877-78 when a sugarbeet mill functioned just to the north of Isleton.¹⁸ Harvests of wheat, barley and hay, potatoes and other row crops, and the fruit from orchards located along the natural

levees of the Sacramento, tended to move to the nearest landings at the levees. Most of these landings were of brush, but there were wharves at various points besides those of the service centers.

The record of ferry operations in extending the service area of the axial road through lower Sacramento County is fragmentary, and to what degree the addition of ferries to the road system attracted movement between the southern area of the county and Sacramento or other towns of the Central Valley is unknown. In the day of the horse, wagon and unsurfaced road, the 40 or 45 miles between Isleton and the county seat, or the 35 miles to Stockton, were no mean distances. Perhaps drovers would have

Walnut Grove Bridge and town from the head of Andrus Island (1919).



avored the roads, but for freight and people the riverboats were a greater convenience.

Since the 1850s over 20 sites have supported ferries below Sacramento, most of them at the mainstream, but some in the channels that mingle the waters of the Sacramento and Mokelumne rivers and that lie to the east of Grand Island. The more important sites are believed to have supported two to four generations of ferries by the 1920s, by which time most had been replaced with bridges or earthen fills.¹⁹ The small boats or rope-guided scows that handled the early traffic were supplanted by larger pontooned cable-ferries, or steam paddle wheel or screw ferries, and launches.

The ferries were begun as private enterprises, and usually were franchised by the counties, which set tolls and required the posting of a bond. The investments in the ferries were made by entrepreneurs with commercial interests in adjacent villages, by owners of riverfront land who perceived an opportunity for income, and by individuals who were encouraged by people with land development or commercial interests nearby. After 1900 the ferries gradually became toll-free county operations. Six yet functioned in 1950; the residual three cable ferries serve the Ryer Island vicinity.²⁰

For the most part, the ferries served traffic that arose or ended in the reclaimed tracts along the river. The principal exception, which most benefitted Rio Vista, was the "Old River" or "Newtown" ferry. It afforded the only crossing between the east and west sides of the Central Valley below the Capital. Yet, operations, which began in 1874, appear not to have been very profitable, for weeks of discussion elapsed before Fred C. Lauritzen agreed to reopen service in May of 1892. The cable ferry remained in use for years, although it appears that the equipment and schedule were so deteriorated by 1909 that a side-wheeler was substituted. The users' request that Sacramento County replace the franchise with a free

ferry was not honored by the Board of Supervisors, but Lauritzen's immediate successor was followed (1910) by F.E. Benjamin, who up-graded the equipment and service and improved the access road on Grand Island. It was to good effect, for the ferry ceased to be at issue in 1911 and was considered to be efficient in 1915.²¹ However, it was but a few years before bridges at Rio Vista, Isleton and Walnut Grove put an end to the ferry business thereabouts, probably occasioning few regrets. Bridges, like the automobile, promised a new order of accessibility and, perhaps, a flow of travellers and commerce to enhance economic growth.

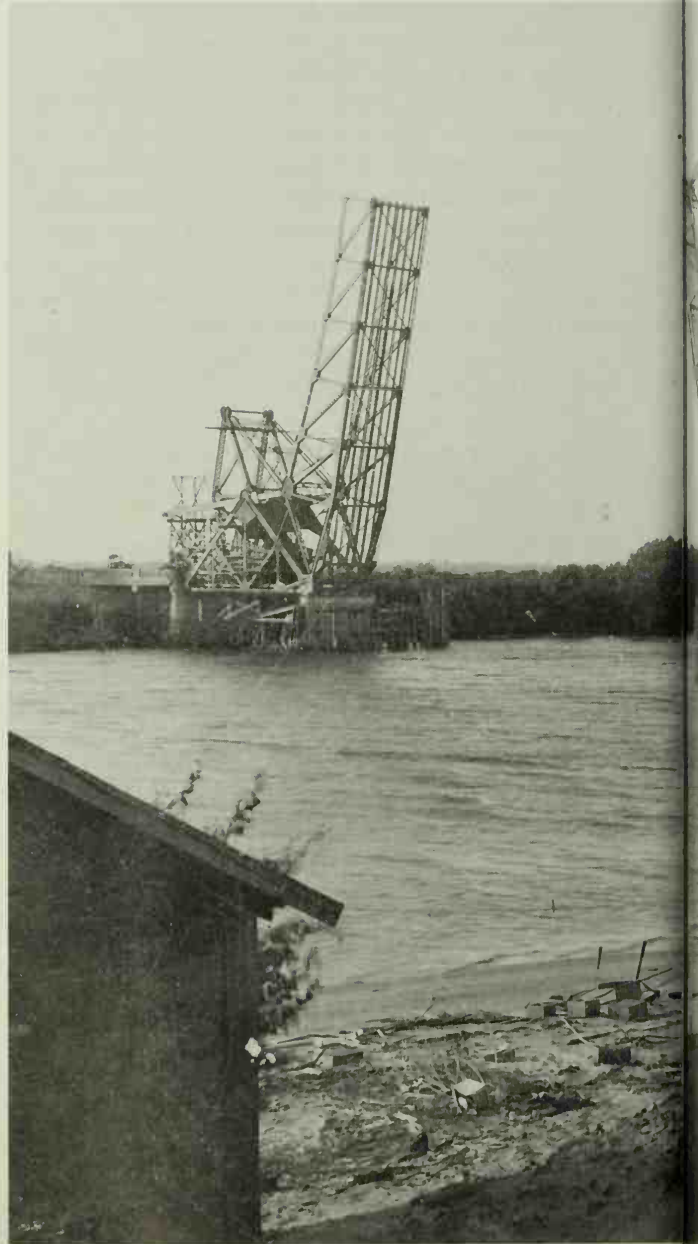
The bridging of the lower Sacramento River and its main distributaries was an endeavor of Sacramento County, sometimes in cooperation with adjacent Yolo, Solano or San Joaquin counties. The task below the Capital was accomplished in two phases, one completed between 1900 and 1905 and the second between 1911 and 1928. The first phase consisted of separate responses to pressures for better linkages within the county's premier fruit growing district and to the outside, while the second phase was part of a general plan for road improvement. Although the responses to early pleas were slow to materialize, the Delta's enthusiasts became remarkably effective in getting public improvements after 1911. By then they marshalled evidence of relative neglect and of the growing role of asparagus production and packing in producing revenue. Also, the case was bolstered by embracing a timely "good roads" campaign, which the public, having become captivated by the new and exciting romance with the automobile, clearly endorsed. The road and bridge building developments in the lower county were facets of a larger movement then going on in California, where, the voters ratified in 1910 and 1916 the Assembly's proposals to develop and fund a unified system of fine highways.²²

Sacramento County became involved in bridge

Isleton Bridge nearing completion (1923). View is towards Grand Island from the south (Andrus Island).

building in the Delta about eight years after the issue first was put by residents of Andrus Island and Walnut Grove, who wanted a span across the head of Georgiana Slough. The petitioners finally had their steel drawbridge opened on March 19, 1901. Shortly, the road to New Hope (Thornton) was improved by the construction of a trestle bridge across the North Fork of the Mokelumne, the complement to a trestle bridge (pre-1895) at the South Fork which was replaced by a steel drawbridge in 1906. In 1906, too, a steel swing bridge was placed across the Sacramento about three quarters of a mile below the head of Grand Island. Its opening to vehicular traffic on March 8 was an event of some moment; the span was the longest swing bridge on the West Coast.²³ Thus, on the eve of widespread acceptance of the automobile, a continuous road threaded the area from Brannan, Andrus and Grand Islands to Sacramento, and from Walnut Grove easterly to Thornton, whence roads led to Sacramento and Stockton.

A grand perspective was revealed by enthusiasts of the lower Delta in June of 1911 when they presented the public with a comprehensive proposal for road and bridge construction. There were elements in the proposal to benefit every reclaimed tract in the lower county, including six bridges and the up-grading of roughly 60 percent of all road mileage in the area. The businessmen and landowners of Isleton and Walnut Grove who launched the proposal followed up with the founding of the Lower Sacramento River Good Roads Club. Hardly had the movement gained ten affiliate clubs when the group became the Sacramento River Good Roads Association, whose spokesman would argue that "All roads have been practically built and cared for by the property owners," and that it was time that the County make expenditures in the area akin to those made for roads elsewhere. The neglect of the Delta was made to seem gross, given that property in the area carried about half of the assessed valuation of the entire





county outside of Sacramento. While the thrust was for change in Sacramento County, the proponents were aware of public support in Rio Vista to have a bridge built there by Solano and Sacramento counties so that traffic between Vallejo and Sacramento might be attracted. Until the first automobile crossed the causeway in late 1915, the expectations of Rio Vistans heightened whenever flood flows in the Yolo Basin imperiled the road between Davis and Sacramento. Rio Vista was but a short two hours by road from Sacramento.²⁴

The good roads issue was raised afresh in 1914 by the newly organized Lower Sacramento River Development Association, which was based at Isleton.²⁵ Support was forthcoming from the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce which, in cooperation with residents of the Delta, organized public information programs favoring anticipated bond referenda. Illustrative of the effort at its best was an outing to Walnut Grove and Grand Island organized for June 19, 1915. The caravans, said to include about 100 automobiles and 500 passengers, ended a long day at Courtland, where a picnic, dance and exchange of good fellowship occurred with several hundred local people. In the process, newspaper reporters gained an earful about the "simply awful" road conditions which for miles had limited driving speeds to 12 miles per hour.²⁶

Finally, in June of 1916, the heart of the road and bridge concept of 1911 became part of the Sacramento County Highway commission's comprehensive highway plan. Somewhat over 39 miles of asphalt-covered concrete pavement were to be laid from Freeport to beyond Isleton, by way of Hood, Courtland and Grand Island. The road was to be carried by bridge from Grand Island to Isleton, thence along the rim of Brannan Island to opposite Rio Vista. Here, a bridge (1919) and paved road (1922) led to Fairfield and Vallejo.²⁷

Bridges were completed in quick succession across

the Sacramento and its distributaries after 1915, one of them pre-dating the formulation of the new highway plan. The bridges at Walnut Grove (1916), Rio Vista (1919), between Sutter Island and Paintersville (1920), above Isleton (1923) and across the head of Steamboat Slough (rebuilt in 1925) were focal. Before long, the American Toll Bridge Company was persuaded to begin a span across the San Joaquin River between Sherman Island and the Antioch vicinity. The formidable structure was begun in May of 1924 and opened on January 1, 1926. Soon thereafter the County bridged Threemile Slough at the head of Sherman Island. The Freeport Bridge was added to the road systems of Sacramento and Yolo counties in 1928.²⁸

The opening on June 10, 1922 of the River Road from Sacramento to opposite Rio Vista represented quite an achievement for the enthusiasts of the Delta and, inasmuch as the Rio Vista bridge and the ferry between Sherman Island and Antioch had operated since 1919, there were expectations that a blossoming crossroads function would benefit the local economy. The expectations must have heightened when it was recognized in the Delta area that elements in the business sectors of Oakland and San Francisco, and the California State Automobile Association, had become aroused over the discrepancy between the flow of automobile-borne tourists from the east toward Los Angeles out of Salt Lake City and Ely, rather than toward San Francisco.²⁹ The concern in the large cities to find a formula that would draw automobile drivers across Nevada into northern California was addressed by the timely formation in the Midwest of the Victory Highway Association (1921). This voluntary association was organized to promote road improvements and travel along a transcontinental route that, more or less, followed U.S. 40. In California, the adopted route for the Victory Highway parted from U.S. 40 at Sacramento, following the River Road to the Antioch ferry, whence Oak-

land was reached by way of Concord and Walnut Creek.

The enthusiasm and pride of achievement that was sensed in the Delta and in Antioch over the diversion of the Victory Highway was reflected in an early decision to christen as "The Victory Bridge" what became known as the "Antioch Bridge."³⁰ On the face of it, the towns of the lower Sacramento River were to be served by a transcontinental route, to say nothing of having a crossroads function in northern California. The guiding spirits of Isleton's Chamber of Commerce had done rather well in enhancing the accessibility of the lower Sacramento River area through the use of public and private institutions for local betterment.

Isleton's business and farming community undertook an ambitious program to have the pavement of the Victory Highway extended across Sherman Island to the San Joaquin River, where a ferry, ultimately a bridge, would provide access to the new concrete highway which linked Antioch to Oakland and San Francisco. First, the Isleton Chamber of Commerce managed to have road grading done from the town southward along Jackson Slough to Threemile Slough, where ferries operated to Twitchell and Sherman Islands. Next, the chamber campaigned to have the River Road extended to lower Sherman Island, a distance of about 11 miles from the Rio Vista bridge. It was expected that the improved roads would develop enough traffic to warrant the bridging of the San Joaquin River and Threemile Slough.³¹

The campaign to have the bridge built across the San Joaquin River was managed by an Antioch-Sherman Island Bridge Committee, which was formed in 1922 with representation of the business, farming and political sectors of Antioch and Isleton. As the State could not be persuaded to build the bridge, the organizers of the American Toll Bridge Co. were consulted, and a formula evolved which

The newly paved River Road below Isleton (1920).



*Wave-eroded levee at Freeport Bend well after (October 1915)
the winter event. The extent of erosion is suggested by the
alignment of the pole and the inclined plank above the
wave-cut bench and levee.*



entailed a substantial subscription in capital stock by residents of Sacramento and Contra Costa counties. Meanwhile, the Lauritzen ferry across the San Joaquin River was being used increasingly. Additional support was sought by Isleton's Chamber of Commerce in the business community of Lodi, where the Sacramento and San Joaquin County Boards of Supervisors were jointly addressed on the advantages of putting a road across Bouldin and Brannan Islands and a ferry at the Mokelumne River. When the transverse road was opened in 1926 it reached the Victory Highway at Isleton. In August of 1927 the paved highway between the Rio Vista bridge and the Antioch bridge was dedicated. It was a matter of no mean achievement that the Antioch bridge had become the first highway span across a major arm of the great system of bays and estuaries that centers on San Francisco. The event, like the anticipated advantage, was eclipsed in May of 1927 by the opening of the bridge at Carquinez Strait. Also, the uniqueness of the crossing was lost when the Dumbarton and San Mateo bridges were completed in 1927.³²

With the paving of the roads and the bridge building that went on between 1916 and 1927 the system matured which, except for one or two road segments, has served the area to the present. Isleton, Rio Vista and Walnut Grove gained considerably in accessibility.

For a long time the landowners or their reclamation districts built and maintained roads, and ferries were begun by local entrepreneurs. As the need arose to modernize the ferries and to build bridges and all-weather roads to accommodate mechanized farming, trucks and the automobile, the counties were pressed to assume larger roles. In the Delta the transfer of responsibility probably was slowed because good water carrier service was available and because of custom. Along the lower Sacramento there was a pride in the achievement of land reclamation without external aid; roads were but the crown on the

monuments to the farmer's achievement. Also, the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors may have moved slowly because there was some delicacy to the issue of where the line was to be drawn between levee building and repair and road building and repair. Landowners could become exercised about the use of funds for public road maintenance when it appeared that the benefits included the drainage and protection of private land. Presumably, too, the Board of Supervisors was careful in spending road funds because the resources available seemed to be short of demands upon them. Whatever the case, the assumption of a larger role in road building and maintenance by Sacramento County seems to have begun in the 1890s but not to have reached full-blown proportions until about 50 years ago.³³

When the construction of levees passed from the hands of men and horse-drawn scrapers to dredges, which largely happened after the 1880s, the accustomed sediments of the river bank, which compacted well, were replaced and covered by sandy mining debris. This material dredged from the river did not compact very well and, when dry, was subject to heavy erosion from the winds which swept into the Central Valley across the Delta. The sand was very difficult, even dangerous, to pull a carriage or wagon through. Sometimes, flood stages resulted in slumping on the outside and excavations to fill sandbags on the inside, which added to the dangers of the perched roads, notably at night.³⁴

It was especially hazardous when horses bolted. Then, as with plunges off the levee today, the end might come in the river or in the grip of heavily branched fruit trees. A kindred peril of recurring incidence has been that of horse-drawn and motor vehicles being lost to the river for want of power, brakes or sound judgement on the steep ferry approaches. If anything, the greatest hazard to travel on the levee roads is the product of increased traffic and the greater speed made possible by modern road

The River Road at the Isleton Bridge, Andrus Island, in 1928. The steepness of the inside slope of the levee is suggested by the proximity of the mature trees in the orchard to the left.





surfaces and improved motor vehicles.

For years, the road surface might be firmed up by topping the newly dredged sand or peat levees with clay substratum obtained from the river floors. To maintain the surface it was common to carpet it with wheat straw, the first cutting of alfalfa or mown tules.³⁵ Carpeting improved traction and reduced the dust and wind erosion problem, but fire was an inherent hazard. Road sprinkling was done fitfully to dampen the straw and to lay the dust. The deficiencies of the roads were accentuated in July and August as teaming became most active, and during the wet months of the year. While gravel was brought into the area in 1911 to surface a heavily traveled road between Walnut Grove and the Mokelumne River,³⁶ the origin and extent of the practice in the Delta is unknown.

Although dredges were effective in building massive levees, recurring flood stages in the Sacramento River system overcame the defenses. In a given flood event crevassing, sometimes preceded by overtopping, resulted in the flooding of from a handful to virtually all of the reclaimed tracts. The levee outages, and with them the roads, might range from a few feet to over half a mile long, and they might persist for days or months.

On numerous occasions in the 1890s and early 1900s the question of the extent to which Sacramento County might become involved in road restoration on the levee was addressed by the Board of Supervisors. While an exception or two may have arisen, the Supervisors appear to have taken the position that work on a levee road would be undertaken by the County to the extent that the grade of the adopted road was restored or maintained, presupposing the integrity of the underlying artificial levee, which was the responsibility of the landowners. Clearly, breaks in levees were not to be restored at the County's expense. The County might have piling driven to protect roads from slumping; it might have fill placed

on levees to build or restore a road; and it might rework the material of restored levees into acceptable roadways.³⁷

Between 1900 and 1927 resilient all-weather roads became common throughout lower Sacramento County. The oiling of roads began in 1904 on Grand Island and between Freeport and Hood, which was about as early as the procedure was adopted in the State. Road oiling appears to have begun on Andrus and Brannan Islands by the winter of 1908-09. Meanwhile, Grand Island's levee road is understood to have been oiled in its entirety in 1906, the project being completed by the landowners. By 1910 the oiling of roads was a general practice. In another decade or two the main roads were macadamized or made of concrete or asphalt. The Freeport Road, macadamized in 1909 between Sacramento and Freeport, seems to have been the first of the Delta's vicinity to be surfaced.³⁸ The concrete and asphalt River Road or Victory Highway, it may be recalled, was completed from Freeport to Rio Vista in 1922 and extended to the Antioch bridge in 1927.

All of the public roads are black-topped today. Those of the lower Delta which are underlain by peat become somewhat undulating because of varying rates of oxidation and compaction in the substratum. Sometimes the surfaces are fractured as segments of levee and road are displaced vertically by settling. Also, fire yet may undermine the roads where the levees are made of organic fill.

In the first two decades of this century a sharp increase in the planting and packing of asparagus, celery and potatoes was accompanied by an expansion of freight and passenger service. The new packing sheds and canneries through which the movement was funnelled, were clustered along the Sacramento above and below Walnut Grove and Isleton, and above Rio Vista. Fruit packing plants had arisen upstream, too, because of the sustained growth of pear production in the area along the river



The E.G. Kirtlan gasoline station, Courtland, a representative institution of the 1920s that served as stage stop, fuel and rest stop for tourists on the paved River Road. Gasoline cost 20½¢ per gallon, including 2¢ of state tax.



The fast motor launch Empress was among the luxury conveyances of the lower Sacramento River



between Freeport and Isleton. The collective needs for better farm to plant service resulted in bridge building activity by Sacramento County. New opportunities for freight hauling were a factor in drawing the Sacramento Southern Railroad to Hood in 1906 and Walnut Grove in 1912, but important, too, was the expectation that the railroad would reach southward to Antioch to provide a direct link between Sacramento and San Francisco, thus facilitating transcontinental service. This was the time too when fast gasoline motor launches entered passenger and express service between the river landings and Antioch, Suisun Bay (Mallard), Sacramento and Stockton. Also, a number of small, independent, non-union towboat and barge firms began to function about the time of World War I. Such developments ended a dependence upon the rates and schedules of steamboats operated by the major carriers. These traditional water carriers lost the bulk of the fresh fruit traffic to inter-state rail terminals shortly after 1912, and their freighting of fruit and vegetables to canneries was a deficit operation by the 1920s.³⁹

The expectation was that an interurban or transcontinental railway would be established through the Delta between the 1890s and 1910. The rumored interurban line was expected to link Walnut Grove to Sacramento and Stockton. The anticipation of the coming of a transcontinental line arose from the organization of the Sacramento Southern Railroad in 1903 and the subsequent work on a roadbed to the south. About then (1904) the Santa Fe had begun its contracted freight steamer service through the Delta out of Antioch, and had proposed (1905) to put a low-level steel bridge with movable span between the vicinity of Pittsburg and Chipps Island.⁴⁰ While the growing presence of a competitor may have been inducement enough to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. to press ahead with the Sacramento Southern, there was another major consideration. It related to

finding an alternative for the time-consuming and costly ferry operation which had functioned since 1869 between Benicia and Port Costa. The Southern Pacific's preference was for a low-level bridge across the western end of Suisun Bay. But, consideration of an alternative through the Delta arose as formidable opposition. By 1907 rights of way were reported to have been obtained and test piling driven on both banks of the San Joaquin about 3.5 miles to the east of Antioch. Nothing more came of the bridging near Antioch, although it was 1928 before the Southern Pacific bridged the western end of Suisun Bay.⁴¹

The Sacramento Southern extended service to Walnut Grove by March of 1912 and to Isleton in October of 1929; soon thereafter a spur was completed to the junction of Georgiana Slough with the Mokelumne River, where a large asparagus cannery operated. These sporadic penetrations of the Delta, where the Southern Pacific's water carriers had a strong position, involved the erection of waterside wharves and warehouses and stations and sheds in town. The object had become one of serving fruit shippers and the packers and shippers of the burgeoning asparagus and celery crops. Also, in the lower county area sugar beets were coming into vogue, and potatoes were yet raised in quantities. Although the branch below Walnut Grove was not expected to yield a profit, it was important to the fostering of traffic over-all. The negative expectations were realized. In the eight months ending with July of 1930 operating costs were double the gross revenue.⁴² The Depression was at hand, and the zenith of Sacramento County's asparagus boom had passed. Moreover, motor carriers were raising formidable competition. Although the usefulness of the railroad was prolonged by conditions arising out of World War II, the spur beyond Isleton is gone and service to Walnut Grove all but ended.

Railway service into the reclaimed tracts of the Yolo Basin became available in 1929 when a branch

of the electric interurban San Francisco-Sacramento Railroad was carried about 16 miles through the Glide, Lisbon and Holland districts. The primary objective was to serve the Holland District, a large tract where corporate and family-operated farms had been developed, and to serve the old village of Clarksburg, then being rejuvenated as a model town for farmers and site for a beet sugar mill. A proposed extension of the railroad to Ryde, below and opposite Walnut Grove on the Sacramento River, was denied by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1929 and 1931 because adequate service was accessible at Walnut Grove and Isleton through the Sacramento Southern.⁴³

Freighting on the river after 1900 largely was shared by the boats of the Southern Pacific and the California Transportation Company, although the Santa Fe Railroad, the Sacramento Transportation Company and lesser operators participated. For years there was twice-daily passenger and freight service to and from Sacramento and San Francisco, and less frequently between Sacramento and Stockton. Steam or motor launches, usually based on Stockton or Antioch, provided week-day service between Sacramento or other points and Rio Vista. Some of the runs were coordinated with scheduled service between Isleton and Rio Vista and either Antioch or Mallard, where rail service was found to and from Oakland-San Francisco.⁴⁴

Between 1900 and the 1930s the steam powered sternwheelers that engaged in scheduled and contract freighting were replaced by motor screw towboats, barges and freighters. Many of these new entrants into the business were owned by individuals or families in Rio Vista, Stockton or Antioch. The freight schooners or scows which still hauled hay and grain after 1900 disappeared in the mid-1920s, as did some of the small towboat and barge operations. The scheduled passenger service by riverboats to San Francisco and Sacramento ended in 1930; between

1933 and 1938 the small towboat operations succumbed as labor costs and the highway carriers pared their profits. By the 1950s highway carriers had replaced all water carriers except the petroleum product barges.⁴⁵

Motor stages appear to have offered local passenger service between Walnut Grove and Hood at least by 1912, and between Isleton and Sacramento by mid-1913. Three such stage lines operated between either Isleton or Walnut Grove and the Capital by the winter of 1915, and another ran from Courtland and Hood. Unregulated and unscheduled motor carriers, "wildcat stages," had become so common by 1916 that the major operation of motor launches lost half of its passenger traffic to them. The unscheduled buses, most of which were owned by local Japanese and Chinese entrepreneurs, were preferred by the Asian farm laborers who had represented a sizeable share of the launch passengers. The Sacramento Southern too protested motor carrier competition in 1920.⁴⁶

By 1919 the Sacramento based River Auto Stage Association emerged as the dominant motor carrier offering service to the lower area of the county. Between it and lesser operations there was service available between Sacramento and Rio Vista, and between Isleton, Rio Vista and Rio Vista Junction. At least by 1923, Walnut Grove, Lodi and Stockton were on a motor stage line, and there was service to the Antioch Bridge in 1926. It is understood that the "wildcat stages" were available for service to points in the Central Valley near the Delta, and to San Francisco Bay points. Those "wildcat stages" that ran to San Francisco often returned with merchandise for the stores that catered to the Asiatics.⁴⁷

The quality of the main roads into the Delta was such by 1925 that picnickers and campers from Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area were frequenting the sand bars and islands opposite Rio Vista on weekends. To cater to such visitors a campground

with bath houses and boat rentals was opened on Ida Island in 1928. By 1929, the midsummer sojourning of yachts and lesser cabin craft in tree-lined Steamboat Slough had reached a scale to warrant the installation of a dock with fueling facilities at Courtland. Others followed this innovation shortly. By then gasoline stations were established institutions and in 1930 the sale of outboard craft and motors began at Isleton.⁴⁸ The recreation industry was taking root.

Within another decade boat rental establishments, some with campground areas, were functioning at various places between Isleton and the Antioch Bridge. Equivalent facilities were less in evidence elsewhere along the Sacramento until the 1950s, by which time lower Andrus Island had quite a concentration of marinas and of subdivisions or parks for occupancy by weekenders and retirees. The State's creation of the Brannan Island Park and Recreation area in 1952 on the southerly peninsula was part of the trend.⁴⁹

Contributing to the attention gained for the Sacramento Delta's recreation assets was the staging of festive commemorative weekends on a recurring basis. As is the custom, the festivals featured parades, boat races and other competitive events for adults and children, carnival activities and commercial and civic displays. The first of such affairs was begun by the Chamber of Commerce of Rio Vista in September of 1915 and 1916 as an Annual Horse Show and Water Carnival. More sustained was the Bass Derby launched in August of 1933, which continued without interruption until 1938 and after 1948. Isleton's Asparagus Festival, held annually between May of 1924 and World War II was revived in 1974 with a less distinctive theme. Meanwhile, Courtland's Pear Fair was launched in 1973.⁵⁰

The road system of the Delta, like the waterways, is a persisting record of the past. While the first roads evolved to link the area to the outside, their larger function was to complement the carriers of the

waterways. The roads were an integral part of the reclamation achievement, for the most part crowning the levees built through the enterprise of the landowners. The bridges, many of them successors to what originally were locally owned ferries, are symbols of the automobile era and of the transfer to county authority of a task grown burdensome because of recurring restorations and dressings of the levees and because of the cost of providing the all-weather surfaces which motor vehicles and modern methods of agriculture required.

Local landowners were early to perceive what the automobile might do to further economic development. By and large, these people obtained the material public and private aid that they sought to enhance accessibility for the area. However, the roads obtained have not made the Delta focal in the circulation of Central California, with the possible exception of State Highway No. 12. Given that the major highways that do support inter-regional circulation neutralize the texture of the landscape with their proportions, uniformity and invitation to speed, it is well. In the Delta the sinuous and narrow roads, which may be labyrinthine to the uninitiated, are very much of the past — from the inconveniences and hazards of their location and design to the patterns of settlement and land use which may be discerned from them. To drive them is to experience a sense of the past and the present of the Delta at once.

Photographs on pp. 144-145 and 162 are courtesy of J.R. Lauritzen, Rio Vista. The map of the lower Sacramento River area was supplied by the author. The photograph on p. 149 is reproduced from Grove K. Gilbert, *Hydraulic Mining Debris in the Sierra Nevada*, U.S. Geological Survey, Professional Paper 105 (Washington, 1917). The view of the E. G. Kirtlan gasoline station is courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento. All remaining photographs are from the State of California, Department of Water Resources.

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Juan María de Salvatierra a portrait

"Night cooled the air. The morning of Saturday, October 12, (1697) we woke up in clear sight of California . . . we could not land at San Bruno . . . we entered the bay of La Concepción . . . I said Mass . . . went ashore . . . ate some pitahayas, but saw no natives . . . October 16 . . . we reached at sundown the old fort of San Bruno . . .

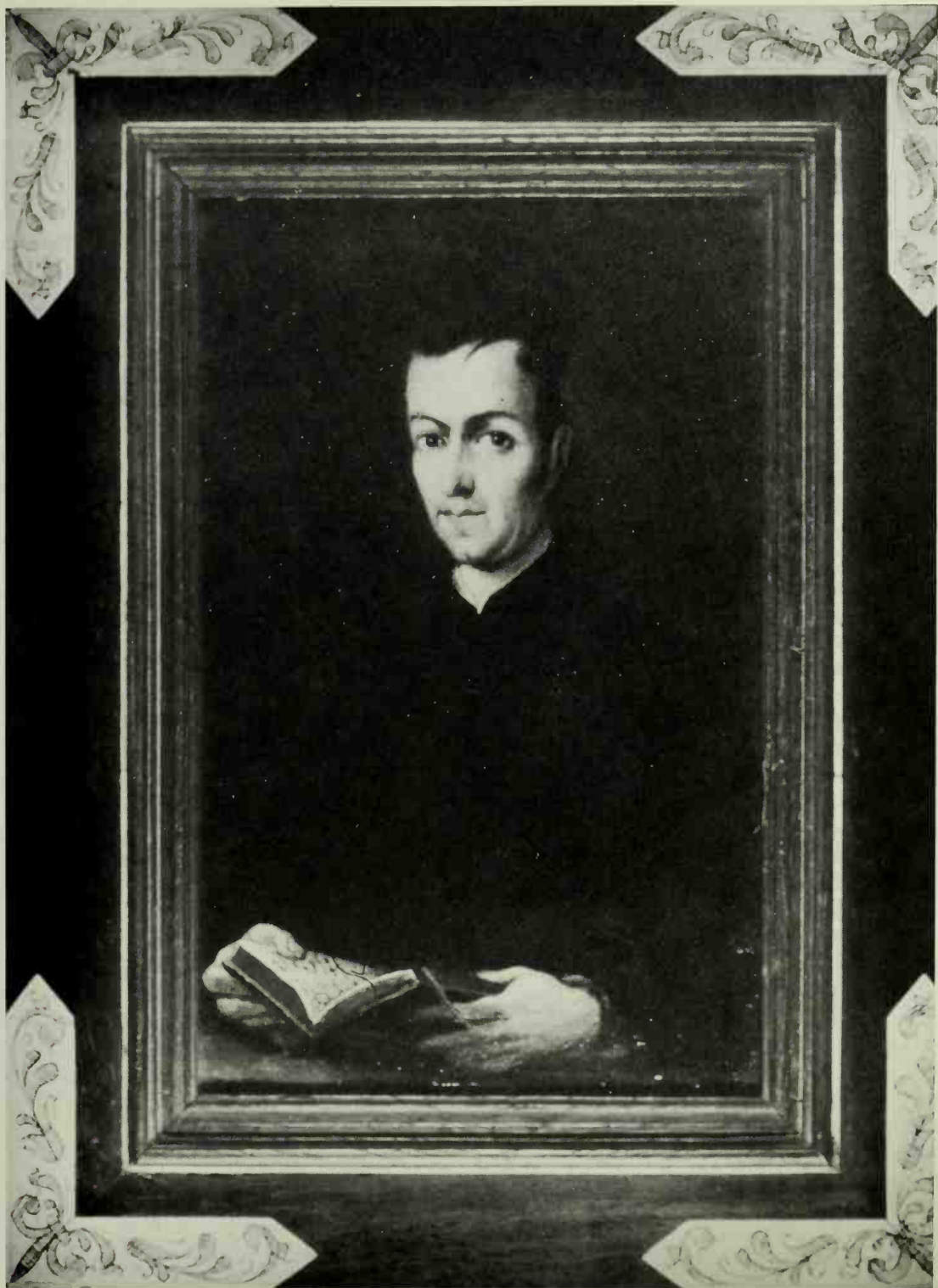
Captain Juan Antonio Romero insisted that in another bay very close by he had . . . found the water excellent . . . the bay was San Dionisio . . . the area was verdant and closer to the sea . . .

It would . . . be difficult to abandon San Bruno . . . we decided to cast lots . . . The slip of paper drawn out bore the name of San Dionisio . . . I preferred San Bruno since it would spare us having to travel farther. . . . early on the morning of Friday, October 18, . . . I went ashore . . . Quite a few Indians with their wives and little children came to receive us. They knelt down to kiss the Crucifix and the Virgin . . . The site seemed ideal to me . . ."

Thus, Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the Society of Jesus described the selection of the site of the first permanent mission of the Californias, Nuestra Señora de Loreto-Conchó, in a letter of November 27, 1697 to his representative and fellow Jesuit in Mexico City, Juan de Ugarte. It was a great moment in the history of California, the Society of Jesus, and in the life of Salvatierra. Since 1535, when Fernando Cortés attempted settlement of La Paz bay, Spain had sought to colonize this remote outpost of her empire. Success was near when Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino established a mission at San Bruno in 1683, but after eighteen months problems of supply caused its abandonment. Nevertheless Kino continued to strive for the evangelization of California and transmitted that zeal to Salvatierra.

Born into a noble Hispano-Italian family on November 15, 1648 in Milan, Salvatierra studied at the Jesuit college in Parma and, on July 10, 1668 entered the Society of Jesus in Genoa. As a novice, in 1670 he requested service in foreign missions, and this was granted upon ordination in 1675. On May 25

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Juan María de Salvatierra

of that year he sailed from Genoa with his friend and classmate, Juan Bautista Zappa and, boarding a Spanish ship at Cádiz, reached the port of Veracruz in the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico) on September 13. From October, 1675 to 1679 Salvatierra studied theology at the Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City and taught rhetoric at the Jesuit college in Puebla.

In the mid-seventeenth century the Society of Jesus had begun missionization of the Sierra Madre and thus, in 1680, Salvatierra was assigned to serve in Tarahumara. For ten years he labored at the missions of Guazapares, Chinúpas, Temoris and Serocahui until the Pima-Tarahumara revolt of 1690 forced him to leave. Escaping over the mountains, Salvatierra reached the Pimería Alta (Sonora) mission of Dolores where he met Kino and learned of the many souls awaiting Salvation in California.

After a brief sojourn in Kino's missions, Salvatierra returned to Mexico City in 1691, served as rector of the Jesuit college of Guadalajara from 1693 to 1696, and in that year was appointed rector of the college at Tepotzotlán. While there he was visited by Kino and, his interest in California renewed, Salvatierra began collecting alms to finance a mission there, establishing the Pious Fund which would grow over a century and a half to support founding of all the California missions. With aid from Attorney General José Miranda Villaisán, the fund gained wide support and on June 18, 1696 a Royal Order for the founding of Jesuit missions in California was dispatched to Viceroy Conde de Moctezuma who, in turn, issued authorization on February 5, 1697. Acting immediately, Salvatierra set out for the Río Yaquí, Sonora, and sailed across the Gulf of California on October 10.

The opening of a mission field in California was not an easy task. Within a few weeks hostile Cochimíes attacked Loreto, and shortages of supplies and personnel were constant. Nevertheless, Salvatierra saw the fruition of his labors with the founding

of San Juan Bautista Londó (1699), San Francisco Javier Viggé (1699), San Juan Malibat-Ligüi (1704), Santa Rosalía de Mulegé (1705) and San José de Comondú (1708), and the support of such co-missionaries as Francisco María Píccolo, Juan de Ugarte, Juan Manuel de Basaldúa and Jaime Bravo.

From 1704 to 1706 Salvatierra served as provincial of the Jesuit province of New Spain, but his concern for California was foremost, and he carried out a visitation there in the fall of 1705. In September, 1706 he returned to Loreto where he served as superior of the missions until March, 1717 when he was called to Mexico by Viceroy Marqués de Valero. En route, Salvatierra fell ill and, accompanied by Brother Jaime Bravo, reached Guadalajara where, at the college of which he was once the rector, he died on July 18 at the age of sixty-nine.¹

A devoted, serious and hard working priest, Salvatierra was beloved by his fellow Jesuits as a man who asked no more than he was prepared to give. Appreciated and praised by such contemporaries as Kino, his labor and memory were revered by such successors as Fray Junípero Serra and Fray Francisco Palóu. Salvatierra's extensive detailed and factual correspondence documents his role as the founder of California.

The portrait, published here for the first time, was painted on copper probably during Salvatierra's years as a theology student at the Colegio Máximo. It is the earliest known portrait of him, and one of two authenticated likenesses. The original (17 × 11 cm.) is in the collection of Lic. Salvador Reynoso Reynoso of Guadalajara.

Notes

1. The foregoing is from: Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Juan María de Salvatierra, S.J.* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971) and W. Michael Mathes, Vivian C. Fisher, E. Moisés Coronado, eds., *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J.* (La Paz: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, 1979-1980), v. 5.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

The Sutro Library

The Sutro Library, the San Francisco branch of the California State Library, is widely known for its eclectic collections of rare books and manuscripts and its superb genealogical holdings. It is not, however, generally regarded as a resource for the study of California history. The purpose of this article then is not to retell the story of how Adolph Sutro, the library's founder, collected incunabula and Shakespeare first folios but rather to explore its value for the California and multiregional historian.

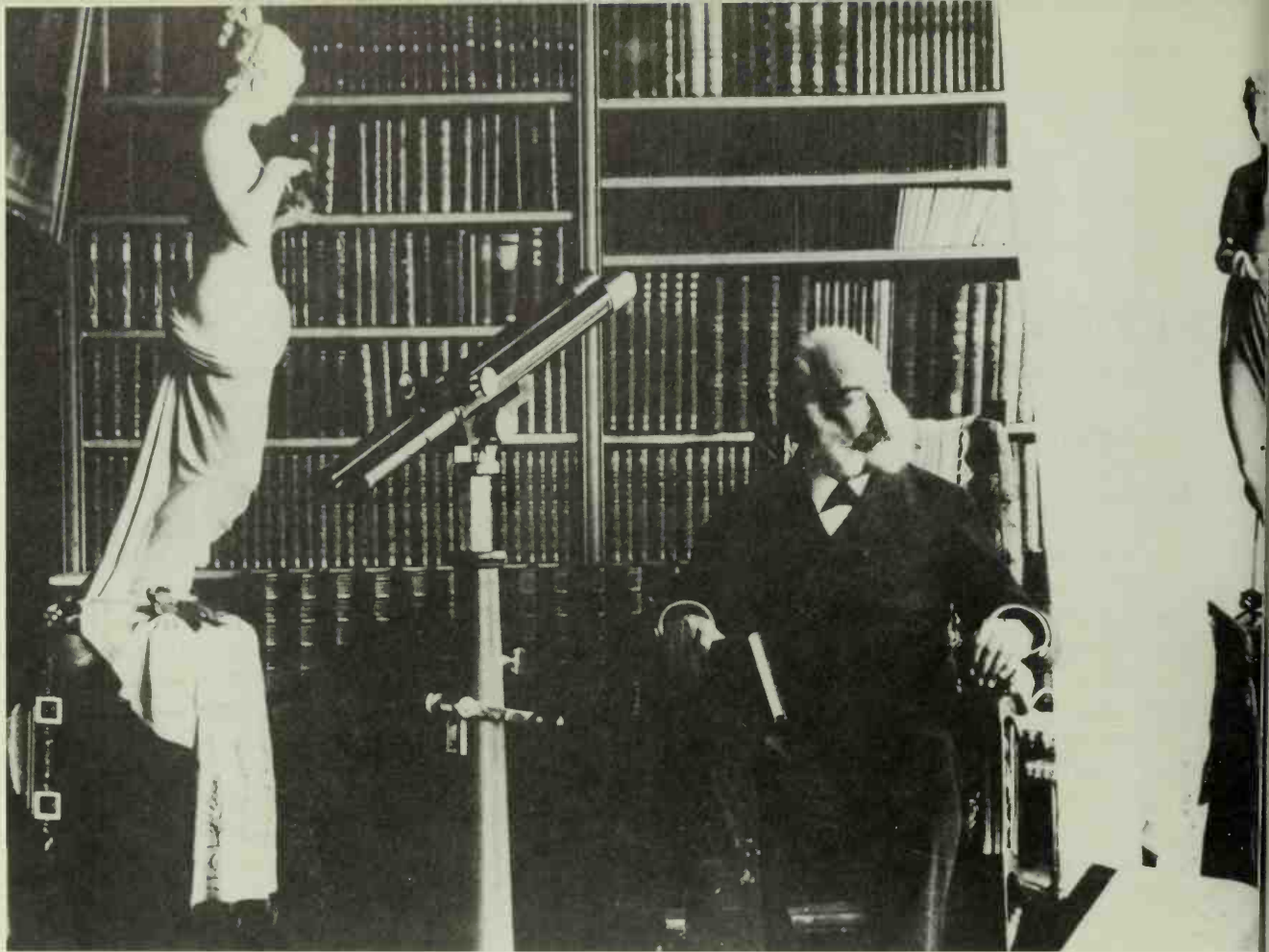
Its massive collections of United States local history, Mexicana and voyages and travels form a foundation for the study of California's land. California did not develop in isolation, and the holdings of the Sutro superbly complement those libraries devoted exclusively to California history.

For decades, the Sutro's outstanding family and local history collections have had great appeal. Drove of family historians overwhelm the library searching for their "roots" and places of origin. This is not surprising. California more than any other state remains a composite of people from other states and countries. Even today, a native Californian still evokes curiosity and people transplanted to the Golden State still nostalgically identify with their hometown.

These same materials that bring joy to the genealogist can likewise be gold for the historian. Most Californians, past and present, came from somewhere else. The lives of explorers, argonauts and settlers can be traced at the Sutro before their arrival. These same materials can illuminate other aspects of California's story. Long Beach, for example, was once laughingly referred to as the Iowa seaport and many Californians can still recall the

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festive meetings of state societies where Arkansas "toothpicks," Connecticut "nutmeggers," and Maryland "crawthumpers" congregated. The humor produced by these state groups, however, only amplifies the patchwork quilt that is California. The institutional and urban historian might do well to study an Iowa narrative before interpreting the history of a city like Long Beach.

Recently, too, urban and multiregional historians have begun to make comparative analyses of California cities and ethnic groups with those of other states. Examples include the rise of Denver and San Francisco and the Jewish populations of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, and Denver. Again, the Sutro with its countrywide resources can provide the historian with an excellent place of embarkation.

The library's genealogical holdings, quite nat-

urally, offer a wealth of material on biography and names. Thousands of family histories compiled by scholars and amateurs form the core collection. These are supported by books on names, passenger lists, census records (1790-1880), D.A.R. lineage books, records of births, baptisms, marriages, wills, deeds, land records, cemetery records, biographical dictionaries, bibliographies, and guides to genealogical research. A card index to surnames and ethnic groups provides the key to the family history collection.

Over the years, the Sutro has acquired an impressive number of United States regional, state, and local narrative histories. Like most genealogical libraries, works related to the Atlantic states dominate. Despite this, the library has been able to build a respectable collection of Western Americana and

Adolph Sutro amid the treasures of his San Francisco library. By the time of his death in 1898, the former San Francisco mayor had amassed the largest private library in the United States only to have the 1906 Earthquake and Fire destroy half the collection.

nearly all the major secondary works on the Westward movement are available. This has been further bolstered by the recent purchase of microfilm copies of the Cox Americana Collection as it relates to the West. Researchers gain access to the local history collection through a specialized card catalog in the reading room.

County histories, once scorned as "mug books," provide an excellent resource for tracking down individuals before their arrival in California. A special index in the library devoted to Illinois county histories, for example, lists Illini who came to California during the Gold Rush and returned. Importantly, the Sutro also has such useful publications as gazetteers, historical atlases, place name books and maps covering all fifty states. In 1976, the library obtained the 7000 volume Tanneyhill Directory Collection. Many of these volumes that offer geographical coverage from Hawaii to Maine are unique to California libraries.

Like most genealogical libraries, the Sutro does not offer indepth coverage of ethnic groups and minorities and locations outside of the United States and British Isles. Every effort, of course, is being made to acquire materials on Blacks, American Indians, Orientals, Mexicans, and middle Europeans as it is published.

Separated from the local history collection is a large selection of "U.S.iana." These volumes, located in the closed stacks, include general histories, books and pamphlets on America's wars, biographies, travel, and guide books. As well, the Sutro has an extensive collection of Civil War manuscripts and letters by such notable individuals as George Washington, Andrew Jackson and Jefferson Davis. A perusal of the stacks will reveal such important Western Americana as George Catlin's monumental *North American Indian Portfolio*, James Otto Lewis' *Aboriginal Portfolio*, Henry Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes Of North America*, Edward Kendall's *Narrative Of The*

Texas Santa Fe Expedition, and travel accounts of Zebulon Pike, S.H. Long, and Washington Irving. Because of Adolph Sutro's business interests in mining, the library's history of technology collection includes a number of important titles on that vital Western industry.

Many researchers express surprise that the Sutro does not actively collect Californiana. That function falls into the domain of the State Library's other historical collection, the California Room. Nonetheless, through Adolph Sutro and early donors, the library possesses enough Californiana to merit attention.

First editions of Venegas, Baegart, Salvatierra, and Palóu record the story of the intrepid Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries who crisscrossed the Californias. One item, which literally may become a relic, is a Bible from Mission Carmel that some believe actually belonged to the "sainted" Fr. Serra. In addition to these black and brown robed missionaries, numerous explorers, scientists, and traders visited California's shores. A sampling of the Sutro's impressive travel collection will reveal such pertinent works as Cook, Vancouver, Shelvocke, La Perouse, Belcher, Beechey, Mofras, and Dana as well as a rare 1590 volume of Theodore DeBry depicting the coronation of Drake by the California Indians. Overland journeys to California are covered by the writings of Barlett, Fremont, Emory, the massive twelve volume Pacific Railroad Survey Reports, and a presentation copy of R.B. Stratton's sensational *Captivity Of The Oatman Girls*.

In addition to these bibliographic treasures, the Sutro possesses materials that will please the genealogist and historian concerned with more modern times. County histories, directories, San Francisco municipal reports, vital records, D.A.R. lineage books, blue books, ship passenger lists, and California census records for 1850-1880 are available. Other Californiana relates to the history of San Francisco

education, theater, fairs, and expositions.

Microfilm copies of the San Francisco *Alta California*, *Call*, *Bulletin*, *Chronicle* and *Examiner* cover the years 1849 to 1899. As well, the collection includes such gems as that wonderfully illustrated newspaper, *The Wide West* (1854-58) and the *Golden Era* (1854). Runs of periodicals abound. Frank Marriott's San Francisco *Newsletter* (1861-75), *Argonaut* (1877-1908), *California Christian Advocate* (1907-39), *California Teacher* (1865-75), *Cameracraft* (1901-26), *Dramatic Chronicle* (1866-68), *Figaro* (1867-80), *Mining And Scientific Press* (1860-1910), and the *Wave* (published for those in the "swim") are available.

As one would expect, the library has quantities of material on the life of Adolph Sutro. These include letters, record books, unpublished reminiscences, materials on the famed Comstock tunnel, photographs and guest registers of Sutro Heights, maps showing Sutro's extensive land holdings in San Francisco, and ephemera on that famous natatorium that bears his name, the Sutro Baths.

In 1918, the estate of the noted California historian, Theodore H. Hittell, placed 41 manuscripts and typescripts in the library. These include such nuggets as Governor Juan B. Alvarado's "Notes on California History" (written at Hittell's request); Antonio María Osio's "Memorias de las Alta California," and Hittell's unpublished biography of the filibuster William Walker.

Manuscripts and photographs documenting the lives and activities of Californians who travelled outside the state exist. The library obtained over 5,000 photographs of C. Tucker Beckett, a retired army officer, who recorded with his Kodak the Pancho Villa expedition of 1916 and life in several far western army bases before W.W. I. The Viola Smith papers document the career of a dynamic woman involved in world trade and women's organizations from 1920 to 1969. In 1971, the library acquired the photograph

collection of Louis J. Stellman (1877-1961). The amateur San Francisco photographer made a superb record of the City's Chinatown as well as still lifes and views made on his trips across the U.S. and Europe. An extensive collection of letters, diaries, books, pamphlets, and photographs of Charles M. Kurtz, an engineer with the Southern Pacific Railroad from 1902 to 1939 contains a wealth of material for railroad historians. It should be noted, however, that the California materials of Beckett, Smith, Stellman, and Kurtz are now in the California Room of the State Library in Sacramento.

Related to the discovery and exploration of California is a fine selection of New World maps and atlases. Charles B. Turrill, an historian from a by-gone era, compiled in 1917 a useful cartographic bibliography entitled "Maps Showing the Californias in the Sutro Branch." This useful typescript lists single maps, atlases, and maps found in books. The library has available important cartographic masterpieces from the likes of Jan Janssonius and Nicolas Sanson depicting California as an island. Atlases accompanying the works of Cook, Vancouver, La Perouse and Humboldt, of course, present excellent representations of the California coast line. As well, the library has many other examples depicting Mexico and South America including three volumes from the elegant *Grand Atlas* of Joannes Blaeu (1658-1672). The most ornate map in the library is a world map executed by Petrus Kaerius of Amsterdam around 1610. Unique to the Sutro, this massive and highly decorated map shows California as part of the mainland.

The past and continuing influence of Mexico on California is obvious. Fortunately, through the perspicacity of Adolph Sutro, the library houses one of the finest Mexican history collections found anywhere in the United States. On one of his bookman's holidays, Sutro travelled to Mexico City in 1889 and

purchased the entire stock of the Librería Abadiano. The Abadiano family owned Mexico City's longest established bookstore and publishing house. Sutro returned to his San Francisco library with a treasure trove of rare books (some dating from the incunabula period), manuscripts, pamphlets, and photographs.

Chronologically, this rich collection ranges from the time of Cortés to the administration of Porfirio Díaz. Primary areas of strength include Mexican religious history, printing and publishing history, and the country's struggle for independence. The latter, consisting of tens of thousands of pamphlets, ranks as perhaps the finest single collection in the world. Highlights include a superb copy of Mexico's first constitution (1814); rare polemical tracts by Fernández de Lizardi, the Voltaire of Mexico, and an 1811 broadside excommunicating the leader of the revolution, Miguel Hidalgo.

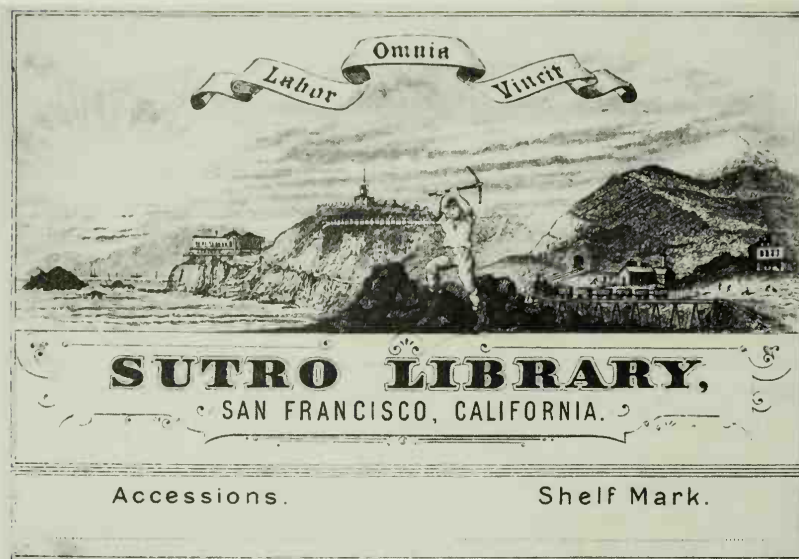
General histories, published documents, government publications, runs of early 19th century Mexican gazetas (newspapers), and accounts of foreign visitors augment the collection. Sutro also collected works on Mexican antiquities including the sumptuously illustrated *Views In Central America, Chiapas, And Yucatan* by Frederick Catherwood and even a fragment of an Aztec codex. Importantly, the San Francisco bibliophile obtained a number of photographs of the land of the Eagle and Serpent in the 1880s depicting Mexico City, outlying cities and villages, types of people, and the Mexican railway.

Sutro, during this foray into Mexico, returned with a splendid manuscript collection. These are particularly significant for documenting church history as they include the records of the ancient Franciscan convent of Santiago Tlatelolco and works produced by seminarians. By purchasing the Librería Abadiano, Sutro also acquired the records of that venerable bookselling, printing, and publishing family. This represents a real treasure for historians of the



Sutro posed for this action shot in a London studio. Through his famed Sutro Tunnel in Nevada's Comstock Lode, the native of Achen, Germany made millions and thereby financed the building of his great library.

Symbolic of Sutro's many interests in mining and the City of San Francisco, this book plate is still used by the library.



Mexican book trade.

Scholars may obtain access to the manuscript and pamphlet collections by use of two card indices located in the reading room. As well, through a W. P. A. project, a publication entitled *Catalogue Of Mexican Pamphlets In The Sutro Collection* (1623-1888) was produced. It is now available through the Kraus Reprint company. In the near future, *The Americas* will publish a listing of the Sutro's Mexican manuscripts.

The Sutro Library as the only branch of the California State Library, offers many services. Located on the lower floor of the University of San Francisco's Gleeson Library, it is open to the public Monday through Friday from 10 to 5 p.m. The Sutro remains as one of the few genealogical research libraries to circulate non rare books. Importantly, if a researcher cannot visit the library, materials can be obtained through an efficient inter-library loan service. Thus, if an historian in Long Beach wants a book on Iowa, all he or she has to do is to arrange for the loan by contacting the local public or university library.

Researchers obtain access to the collection through its master card catalogue and special subject files. These include surnames, local history, military history, ethnic groups, manuscripts, photographs, periodicals, newspapers, and Mexican and English pamphlets. As well, the Sutro offers a limited photographic reproduction service.

The other resources of the Sutro have been described in many publications. Richard Dillon's *Anatomy Of A Library* (1957) and "The Sutro Library," *News Notes Of California Libraries* (April 1956), pp. 338-352, are excellent guides to the books collected by Adolph Sutro and the library's history. Such publications as *Sutro Library Notes*, *Occasional Papers*, W. P. A. projects, and articles in library and historical journals also describe the library's varied holdings. Lastly, scrapbooks and newspaper articles narrating Adolph Sutro's adventures as a book collector, the library's peregrinations, and its tumultuous history are available.

The photographs are from the Sutro Library.

Book Reviews

Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage.

By Charles Hall Page and Associates (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979. 271 pp. \$19.95)

East Bay Heritage: A Potpourri of Living History.

By Mark A. Wilson. (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979. 238 pp. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Karen J. Weitze, *Architectural Historian, Ph.D.*

California Living Books has recently published two volumes treating the architecture of San Francisco and the East Bay. The first, researched and written by the consulting firm Charles Hall Page and Associates, catalogues and evaluates the commercial core of downtown San Francisco. As its title suggests, *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage* concentrates on the multi-story fabric of an urban center rebuilt following the earthquake of April 1906. The second, a more personal effort by Mark A. Wilson of Berkeley, provides a series of walking tours through the lesser known complement of San Francisco — the East Bay. *East Bay Heritage: A Potpourri of Living History* explores the remnants of nineteenth and early twentieth century towns now absorbed by the amoeba-like suburban sprawl of recent decades. Both *Survivors* and *Heritage* have much to offer; however, both also contain weaknesses that detract from their contributions to the shelves of California architectural history.

Splendid Survivors is strongest as a public education document. Both the historical background chapter and the survey section offer solid material for the layman, student and scholar. Credit for these sections goes in large part to text author Michael R. Corbett; his history chapter is thoughtful, tightly organized and well-presented. The style is fluid and the illustrations aptly chosen. Most commendable is the author's effort to research the whole story; we are given a full picture of downtown San Francisco from its architectural beginnings to the present. Care is taken to unravel not just the Victorian through 1940 eras (those popular with the layman and accepted by the preservationists), but also the little acknowledged and documented years closer to our own time: the 1930s, 60s and 70s. Scholarly emphasis is accented by the concluding history units which examine the prominent architects of San Francisco (their education and the state of the profession), as well as

the major construction systems employed 1906-1979. Finally, the survey section — the focus of the volume — carries the momentum of the critical history chapter into the streets for a detailed look at the buildings themselves.

Unfortunately, *Survivors* attempts to be all things to all people. Not content to be just a public education document, the volume also proclaims itself to be a planning manual, a preservation tool and a model for other cities. Between the lines, but no less subtly, it announces itself as an advertisement for Charles Hall Page and Associates, Incorporated. As a planning manual, *Survivors* is perhaps most suspect. In the opening chapter on methodology, Charles Hall Page and Associates note that they are attempting to quantify the aesthetics of architecture. Boldly pointing to the example of Grade A and Grade B oranges, the consulting firm advocates that the same "objective rating" is possible for buildings. Furthermore, they proclaim, the public deserves the comfort of such labels. What is assumed here is that design aesthetics, like juice content, can be quantified, rated and given a score. What is advertised is the Charles Hall Page system: the relative point value of E (excellent), VG (very good), G (good), and F/P (fair/poor) for the 13 categories of style, construction, age, architect, design, interior, history-person, history-event, patterns, environment-continuity, environment-setting, environment-landmark and integrity-alterations.

Through this system a building receives a number score and all the realtor/entrepreneurs are content with the firm knowledge that the building on the corner is a 92, while the parcel one block over is a lesser 84. (Dollar signs can be adjusted accordingly.) Planners are relieved, too; now a set of scores can be applied to the city building files. In the future it will be crystal clear what to keep and what to bulldoze. For those who are aware, however, it is not so simple. Someone in the crowd is meekly asking — what about the criteria established for the National Register of Historic Places? The National Register is elastic; its criteria treat cultural resources on a case by case basis within a broad framework. An 'E' for design is not always worth 25 points, nor an 'E' for construction 12. Mathematical scores are not assigned. How, then, do cities use the Page system as a preservation tool? How does a city transfer the information on a Page form to that of the survey form used by the California Office of Historic Preservation — the latter based on National Register criteria? How do other cities follow such a model — when they must deal with National Register criteria for state and federal fund-

ing? These questions remain unanswered by *Survivors*.

Leaving San Francisco and focusing attention across the Bay, *East Bay Heritage* explores the older sections of Alameda, Albany, Benicia, Berkeley, Fremont, Hayward, Oakland, Richmond and Vallejo. Long accustomed to the glories of San Francisco and Berkeley/Oakland, architectural historians and critics have commented little on the surrounding historic townsites. In this regard, the mapped, annotated walking tours fill a void for citizens of the East Bay and are a welcome supplement to the standard mentionings in David Gebhard's *Guide to Northern California Architecture*. Where *Heritage* falls short is in its opening chapter. Here architectural history is repeatedly discussed as a series of fashionable trends. Stylistic developments are described as fads, manias, crazes and vogues. At best, the background history is loosely handled — at worst, it gives the impression that architectural history is the result of whim. Theory, architects' backgrounds and the state of the profession remain unacknowledged. Perhaps Mark A. Wilson's efforts here would have been strengthened by omitting the history chapter altogether, thus allowing his obvious love of buildings to speak for itself through the walking tours that comprise the remainder of the text.

New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821.

Edited by David J. Weber. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979. 321 pp. \$14.95.)

Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson, Professor of History, University of California, Davis.

Edited volumes of essays by selected historians and collective works appear to be in vogue with publishers, specifically university presses, at the present time. David J. Weber's volume on the northern frontier of New Spain includes eighteen contributions by notable practitioners of Spanish Borderlands history, most of whom are contemporaries. Donald Worcester's recent presidential address to the Western History Association emphasizing the national importance of the Southwest and its Spanish-speaking peoples, not only historically but even more, in contem-

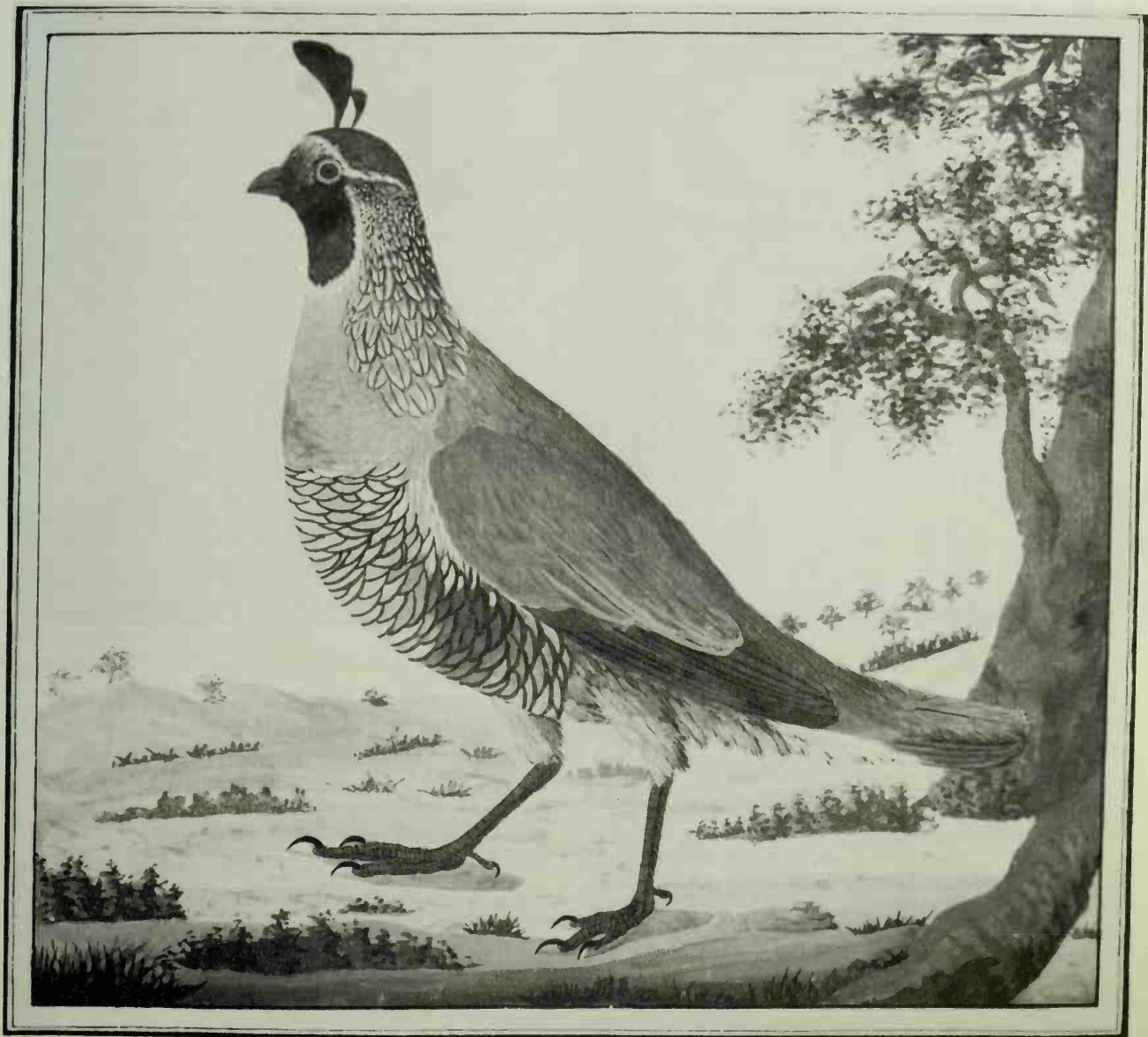
porary affairs, establishes a justification for the book. Concerning early exploration, George Hammond traces the fabulous myths concerning wealth and glory that motivated the Spanish; Donald Cutter emphasizes their scientific contribution. Colonial institutions are evaluated in Eugene C. Bolton's classic account of the missions that has stood the test of time, by Odie B. Faulk's more hedging appraisal of the presidio, and by Sandra Myres' debatable suggestion that the *ranchero* provided the background for the nineteenth century cattle industry of the Great Plains. Marc Simmons presents settlement patterns in Hispanic New Mexico emphasizing a lack of planning and a tendency toward dispersal because of a preference to avoid towns and population centers.

Turning to society, Manuel Servín's controversial argument that the Hispanic heritage of California is a myth, that rather it was Mexican, or Indian, is reprinted. In sharp methodological contrast, Alicia V. Tjarks contributes a demographic analysis of Texas population in the Spanish period utilizing the latest quantitative techniques. Where the frontier experience is concerned, C. Alan Hutchison argues that the suggestion of Frederick Jackson Turner did not apply to California. Silvio Zavala agrees where the rest of Hispanic America is concerned, but seeks examples on some frontiers where the comparative process may prove valid.

In analyzing the administrative policy in the northern provinces of Spain, Luis Navarro García concentrates on the interaction of the views of the Marqués de Rubí and José de Gálvez, while Joseph F. Park describes the impact of Gálvez's Indian policy. Quite justifiably, the Indians are given preponderant attention. Albert H. Schröder valiantly attempts to tell the story of their survival in the Spanish Southwest from the viewpoint of the Indian rather than the Spaniard. George Philips suggests that the Indians of California, far from being passive, succeeded in disrupting the mission system and were a major factor in its demise. Art historians will enjoy William Wroth's account of the flowering and decline of the art form of the making of wooden saints — *santos* — in eighteenth century New Mexico. John L. Kessel decries the search for relevance that suggests, among other things, that the Indians and Spanish were practicing environmentalists, and cites evidence to the contrary. In a thoughtful conclusion, editor Weber traces the historical roots of the negative stereotype of Borderland Mexicans held by Anglo-Americans.

All of these essays have been previously published and a

Spanish scientific contributions in New Spain included the
cataloging and sketching of native plants and animals.
This drawing of the California Valley Quail was done by José Cardero in 1791.



Actio Rio montanus



reviewer might argue that the book contains nothing new. This is not the case. The editor has made a distinct contribution in bringing together in a single volume some of the best historical literature on the Spanish Borderlands from a wide variety of periodicals. College and university teachers will be indebted for an outstanding book of readings to use in conjunction with their courses. The editor has prepared a brief, excellent survey of the Hispanic penetration of the Southwest, 1540-1821, as an introduction. He has also provided the gist of every contribution by a prefatory comment. As a result, David J. Weber has enhanced his growing reputation as one of the most outstanding and understanding historians of the Hispanic Southwest of his generation. Contrary to the publisher's statement, it should be noted that the contributors to this publication are overwhelmingly Anglos. Silvio Zavala and Luis Navarro García in translation and perhaps Manuel Servín are the only exceptions. In some quarters this would be termed tokenism.

*The Story of New San Diego and of its Founder
Alonzo E. Horton.*

By Elizabeth C. MacPhail. (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1979. 163 pp. \$8.95.)

Reviewed by Iris Wilson Engstrand, Professor of History at the University of San Diego; Chairman, Board of Editorial Consultants, Journal of San Diego History.

Elizabeth MacPhail's revised edition of her originally successful biography of Alonzo Horton appears in an entirely new and heavily illustrated format. The many additional historic photographs from the San Diego Historical Society's Title Insurance and Trust Collection greatly enhance the lively and thoughtful text. Mrs. MacPhail, well known for her numerous publications on early San Diego, has done a thorough job of research and tells the story of "Father" Alonzo Horton, his relationship with Old Town,

The Matthew Sherman home at Twenty-Second and Market Streets in San Diego was one of many elegant residences built during the Boom of the Eighties.

his building of New Town, and his personal dreams, with an exciting and fast-moving narrative. She follows his steps from the incredible purchase of San Diego's heartland for just \$265.00 in 1867 through his many investments in downtown buildings. She believes that with the great interest in downtown redevelopment, readers should understand that Horton was responsible for first setting into motion some of the ideas that urban planners are considering at present.

Not only does Mrs. MacPhail cover Horton's many and varied interests, she traces the careers of his predecessor William Heath Davis and his fellow San Diegans such as George White Marston, Louis J. Wilde, John D. Spreckels and other contemporaries whose names still live in San Diego. She covers many of the land transactions during the Boom of the Eighties, the development of Balboa Park, and the activities of pioneer horticulturist Kate Sessions. She carries her story through Horton's death in 1909 at the age of 95 years and concludes appropriately with Horton's own comment: "I am not surprised at what has happened here in San Diego. I have seen it all — the tall buildings and great ships at anchor, taller buildings and greater ships than I had ever seen. I dreamed it all."

The book, although primarily of local interest, is representative of the kinds of activities that were taking place during the final quarter of the nineteenth century in other areas of the state and nation. For this reason, it should be of use to students of urban history everywhere. Designed by Thomas L. Scharf, it is a welcome addition to the publications of the San Diego Historical Society.

Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture.

By Lawrence J. Jelinek. (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1979. 113 pp.)

Reviewed by Richard J. Orsi, Professor of History at California State University, Hayward, and author of A List of References for the History of Agriculture in California (1974).

At long last, a courageous writer has produced a synthesis of California agricultural history, something for which scholars have been pleading for over three decades.

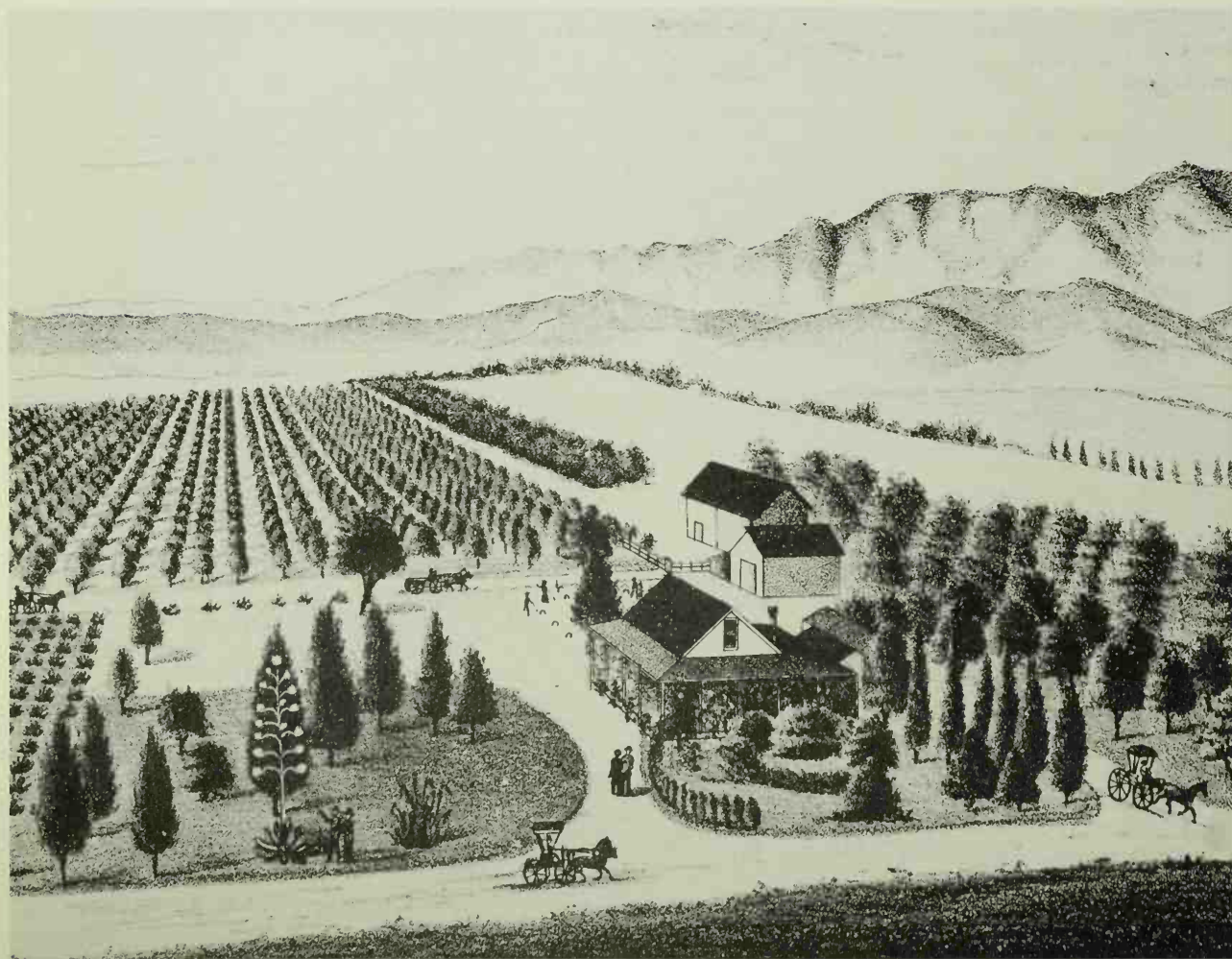
Moreover, Lawrence Jelinek has attempted this difficult task in a slim volume in the new Golden State Series, which is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Given the goals of the author and the inherent limitations of his format, he succeeds remarkably well.

In writing his interpretive survey, Jelinek has avoided the romantic, parochial perspective on this subject which has led some others to write agricultural "histories" composed mainly of shallow litanies of crop statistics and California "firsts." He reminds us from the onset that California is not "agriculture's version of Eden." Despite the land's rich potential, successful production was achieved only through struggle, failure, organization, and, frequently, bitter conflict. Maintaining this balanced, critical stance throughout, Jelinek examines the major periods in the state's agricultural development, including pre-colonization Indian agriculture (or lack thereof) the transplantation of southern European models under Spanish and Mexican rule, the extension of frontier American farming during the gold rush, the bonanza wheat and specialty crop agriculture of the late nineteenth century, and the emergence in the twentieth century of industrial farming. In treating these topics, Jelinek particularly emphasizes the importance of irrigation, crop experimentation, market organization, and a distinctive harvest labor system in overcoming natural disadvantages.

Jelinek's most significant contribution is his analysis of the controversial origins and contradictions of modern, large-scale structure in California farming. Shunning the simplistic environmental causation stressed by many others, he instead demonstrates that modern agribusiness, far from being inevitable, resulted from a complex of reversible social and political forces operating over the last two centuries, especially the virtually unchecked ability of large farm interests to shape public policy. As a result, government's expanding agricultural subsidies — public irrigation development, tax-funded research, marketing assistance, price supports, and labor projects such as the infamous Bracero Program — have primarily benefitted large-scale enterprises. Essentially, according to Jelinek, corporate farming has come to reign in California, not because of impersonal environmental or economic forces, but rather because of conscious social choice manifested through a political process in which the power of the large-scale enterprises has been decisive. Increasingly, Jelinek maintains, the rise of agribusiness has created a "value crisis" between democratic ideals and modern

agricultural reality, not only because of the well-known exploitation of field laborers, but also because of a widening, government sanctioned competitive disadvantage for small farmers. This contradiction is a vital unmet challenge to the state, indeed to the nation at large. Because alternatives exist to consolidated lands, production, and processing, Jelinek believes the dilemma can be resolved.

This excellent little book is not without blemishes. Some, such as the scanty notes and bibliography, are undoubtedly products of the book's format. But, many historians may squirm at Jelinek's rose-hued portrait of Mexican rancho life (p. 19) or vigorously debate his assertion that in the late nineteenth century it was the spread of irrigation, and not the expansion of markets



Residence, Orange Grove & Raisin Vineyard of W.T. Simms, Riverside

through railroad construction, which was "the most important development allowing for the commercial emergence of specialty crop agriculture" (p. 55). More seriously in this reviewer's estimation, the book underrates and distorts the role of the University of California in agricultural development. In contrast to the many pages devoted to labor and unionization, admittedly important topics, the University's activities are relegated to one and one half scattered paragraphs of material pertaining solely to twentieth-century governmental favoritism toward agribusiness. Inexplicably, Eugene W. Hilgard is not even mentioned, nor are the experiment stations, the State Farm (later branch campus) at Davis, or the University's many attempts, especially prior to 1913, to reach small farmers, who responded by ignoring, and often ridiculing, the University's vision of a scientific agriculture. Nevertheless, Jelinek is to be commended for having given us a well-written, stimulating, and insightful preliminary history which will be rewarding to scholars, college students, and general readers alike. Let us hope others will follow his lead.

Mission Dolores: A Documentary History of San Francisco Mission.

Compiled and edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives, 1979, x, 203 pp. \$11.00)

Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History, University of San Francisco, holder of the California Historical Society's Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award, and author of many books and articles on Spanish California.

In 1975 Monsignor Francis J. Weber, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, initiated the publication of a series of documentary histories projected to cover each of the Alta California Missions. Thus far San Fernando (1975), San Juan Capistrano (1976), San Buenaventura (1978), Santa Bárbara, San Gabriel (1979) and the present volume have appeared, all following identical format and nicely printed.

Mission Dolores is a collection of sixty-two excerpts from books and articles by historians of the mission such as the late Fathers Maynard Geiger and Zephyrin Engelhardt,

nineteenth and early twentieth century descriptions, newspaper accounts, and some published primary documents; several items are original works by the compiler and others would be difficult to obtain in their original form. Arranged generally in chronological order, these excerpts present a series of vignettes of the mission from its founding in 1776 to 1978.

As in most collections of this nature, reasons for selection or exclusion of documents can be questioned and debated, however, certainly Msgr. Weber's selection here meets the necessary requirements of being informative and interesting. Clearer citations to the original works would have been in order, and the inclusion of a bibliography, a feature to be found in other volumes in the series would have been appreciated; possibly an extensive bibliographical volume will be projected to cap the series. Accent marks are used on some Spanish words where not required and are omitted on others where they are needed.

Available through the Mission Dolores Gift Shop, this new book, as are the other volumes in the series, is essential to any library of early Californiana. It is limited to some 350 copies. Let us hope that future volumes will appear with greater frequency so that readers will not have to wait another fifteen years to complete the series.

The photograph on p. 181 is courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid, Spain. All other photographs are from the CHS Library.

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1979-80) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Albronda, Mildred. *Douglas Tilden: Portrait of a Deaf Sculptor*. Silver Spring, Maryland: T. J. Publishers, 1980. Publisher, 817 Silver Spring Ave., Suite 305-D, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910. \$14.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).

Andrews, John R. *Ghost Towns of Amador*. rev. ed. Fresno: Book Publishers, 1979. 140 pp. Publisher, 8 East Olive Ave., Fresno, 93728. \$3.95.

Baer, Morley. *Room and Time Enough: The Land of Mary Austin*. Photographs by Morley Baer; introduction by Augusta Fink. Lines by Mary Austin. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1980. 84 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box N, Flagstaff, Arizona 86002. \$20.00.

The Berkeley Cookbook: A Collection of Choice and Tested Recipes, by the Ladies of Berkeley, California. (circa 1884) Facsimile edition. Published for the Berkeley Centennial Celebration. 150 pp. Publisher, Creative Arts Book Company, 833 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94710. \$4.95.

Bohakel, Charles A. *Mount Diablo, the "Devil" Mountain of California*. Reprint of 2nd revised edition, 1975. Antioch: Author, 1980. 20 pp. Publisher, Charles A. Bohakel, P. O. Box 817, Antioch, 94509. \$3.00.

Branch, Edgar Marquess and Robert H. Hirst. *Early Tales and Sketches*, vol. 1, 1851-1864. (Vol. 15 of *The Works of Mark Twain*) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 789 pp. \$37.50.

Burchell, R. A. *The San Francisco Irish*,

1848-1880. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. \$16.95.

Burns, Elizabeth K. "The Enduring Affluent Suburb." In *Landscape Magazine*. San Mateo County Historical Association. College of San Mateo Campus, 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd. San Mateo, 94402. \$4.50.

Cady, Lanore Corbin. *Houses & Letters*. Woolwich, Maine: TBW Books, 1979. 68 pp. Publisher, Box 58, Day's Ferry Road, Woolwich, 04579. \$35.00.

Camarillo, Albert. *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. \$17.50.

Castillo, Richard Griswold del. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 232 pp. \$16.95.

Center for California Public Affairs. *California Museum Directory*. Claremont: Center for California Public Affairs, 1979. 75 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711. \$15.00.

Chatham, Russell D. *Striped Bass on the Fly: A Guide to California Waters*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 96 pp. \$4.50.

Clary, Raymond. *The Making of Golden Gate Park. The Early Years: 1865-1906*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 224 pp. \$18.50 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper).

Comstock, David A. and Ardis Hatten Comstock. *Index to 1880 History of Nevada County, California*. Thompson & West. Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1979. 84 pp. Publisher, William Quirk Memorial Drive, Grass Valley, California. \$14.50.

Culver, John H. and John C. Syer. *Power and Politics in California*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980. 236 pp.

Daniels, Douglas Henry. *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco*. Philadelphia, Pa: Temple University Press, 1980. 265 pp. \$17.50.

Dean, Terry J. and Ronald J. Heckart. *Proposition 13 in the 1978 California Primary: A Pre-election Bibliography*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental

Check List

- Studies, 1979. 88 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$6.00.
- December's Child: *A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives*. Collected by J. P. Harrington. Edited, with an analysis, by Thomas C. Blackburn. Berkeley: University of California, 1980. 383 pp. (Cal. Paperback Series, 446) \$5.95.
- Dicker, Laverne Mau. *The Chinese in San Francisco: A Pictorial History*. New York: Dover Publications, 1979. 134 pp. \$6.00.
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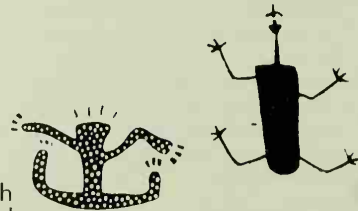
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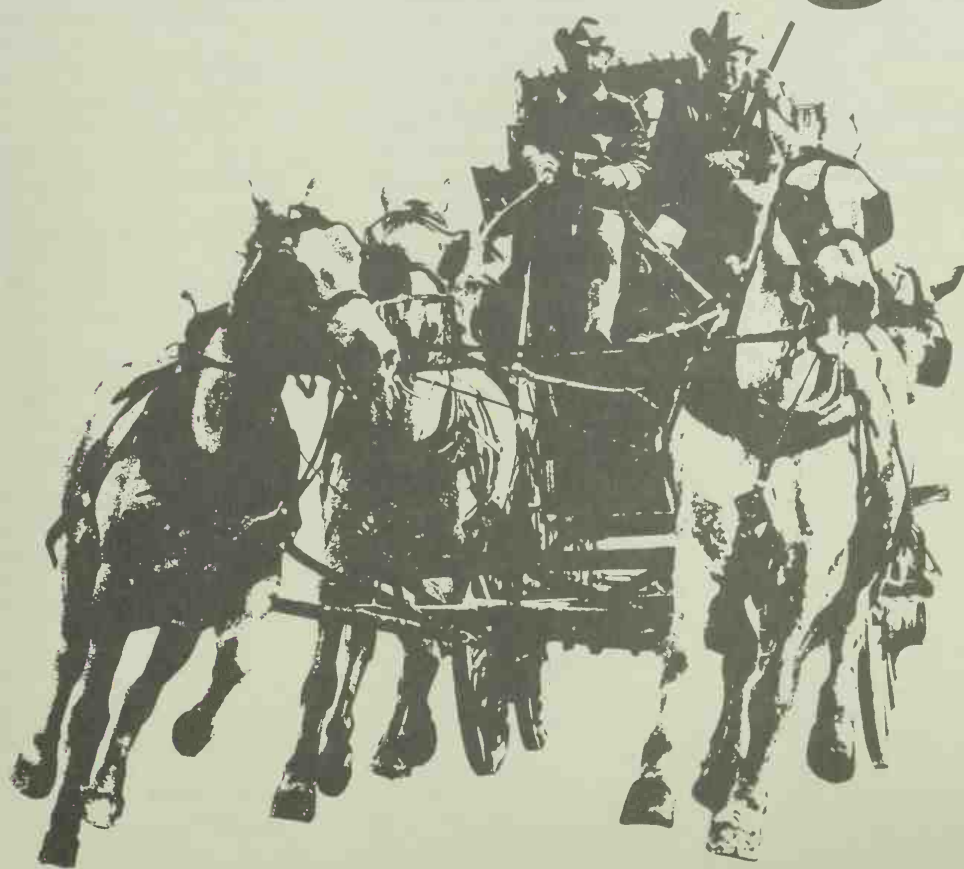
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COVER

Chinese bronze lions like this one stand guard in front of many of the gateways and buildings in the Imperial Palace in Peking. It was here that former governor of California, Frederick F. Low participated in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western diplomats. To learn more of Low's career as a U.S. envoy to China please turn to the article beginning on page 240. *Photograph by David L. Anderson.*

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EISENSTEIN AND CALIFORNIA

The "Sutter's Gold" Episode

In August 1929, soon after completing final editing on his most recent film, "The Old and the New," the Soviet director, Sergei Eisenstein, left the U.S.S.R. for Western Europe. Eisenstein's immediate aim was preparation of the film for release in Germany, but he also had some hopes of remaining in Europe for several months, and possibly of traveling on to America. There he would examine recent developments in the use of sound in motion pictures. Eisenstein had on a number of occasions expressed interest in the possibility of cooperation between the Soviet and American film industries, an exchange he considered entirely consistent with the general program of the recently inaugurated First Five Year Plan.¹ Hollywood, for its part, was greatly interested in Eisenstein, as it had been earlier in the European directors Lubitsch and von Stroheim. Universal, United Artists, and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer all considered offering Eisenstein contracts, but in the end he signed an agreement to work with Paramount Studios for six months, during which he (with the assistance of his close associates Grigorii Aleksandrov and Eduard Tisse) would make a film in California on a subject to be mutually agreed upon.² Thus began a remarkable experience for both Eisenstein and Hollywood. From it would emerge an Eisenstein cynical about, and disillusioned with, the American film industry. At the same time, however, Eisenstein produced one excellent screenplay, "Sutter's Gold." Based on the life of Johann Sutter, whom Eisenstein

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saw as the great victim of the California Gold Rush of the 1840s, it would be the fullest statement Eisenstein would make on California and its history.

Eisenstein remarked to a reporter soon after landing in New York that he hoped to make a “truly American film”³ in Hollywood, but the choice of a subject was not an easy one. From the beginning of their discussions, Eisenstein and Paramount found it difficult to agree on a project.⁴ In the meantime, Eisenstein made his way to California and settled into a luxurious Spanish colonial revival house in one of the more elegant suburbs of Los Angeles.⁵ He was immediately struck by the city’s surrealistic atmosphere, and a number of photographs taken by Eisenstein and his crew show a fascination with the area’s grotesqueries remarkably similar to that described later by Nathanael West in his quintessential Hollywood novel, *The Day of the Locust*.⁶ Eisenstein’s friend Salka Viertel remarked that he was delighted with “one of Aimee [Semple McPherson’s] most glamorous productions”⁷ at her famous (and notorious) Angelus Temple in Echo Park. He visited Venice Pier, the Russian Molokan colony of the city’s east side, sailed to Catalina Island on Charlie Chaplin’s yacht, traveled by car to Death Valley and Sequoia National Park.⁸

The Paramount publicity office arranged for the “genius of the new Soviet cinema” to visit other studios, directors, and Hollywood personalities. On the whole, Eisenstein was not amused: he found most of the celebrities “stupid and mediocre”⁹ (with the exception of Walt Disney — Eisenstein said of him that he was the only person in Hollywood who knew how to use sound properly in films.) The productions were disappointing, the heads of the other studios remarkably ignorant (Carl Laemmle wanted to know if Eisenstein thought Trotsky would be interested in writing a screenplay for his studio), and his social duties rather tiresome.



The film director Sergei Eisenstein, circa 1930, shortly after his arrival in America.

Throughout all this building of Eisenstein's American reputation by the Paramount publicity department, no decision on a project for the studio had been reached, and at one point, Eisenstein began visiting a psychiatrist in hopes of overcoming a "creative block" he believed he had. Finally, Paramount agreed that Eisenstein should write a script based on the recent European and American best-seller by Blaise Cendrars, *L'Or*, translated into English as *Sutter's Gold*.¹⁰

Eisenstein had asked to meet Cendrars during his recent stay in France, apparently with the intention of obtaining the film rights to the book from him.¹¹ Eisenstein was probably attracted to the novel most by its cinematic style.¹² Cendrars was a novelist, not a historian, and arranged his material on the basis of novelistic effect rather than historical veracity. Eisenstein knew little about California history (although he had seen Douglas Fairbanks' "The Mark of Zorro" in Moscow in the early 1920s), and he set out immediately to examine and study all he could find on the subject of Sutter and the Gold Rush period. He collected and annotated books, articles, and memoirs, examined daguerrotypes, costumes in museums, paintings from the period,¹³ traveled to San Francisco, to Sacramento and Sutter's Fort, to Sutter's Mill, Sutter's Hock Farm, sketching and photographing, interviewing local inhabitants. Returning to Hollywood, and in a fit of feverish energy, Eisenstein and his assistants completed the script in three days.

The screenplay was an evocative visualization of what Eisenstein had come to see as the tragedy of California — that it had been a paradise ruined by gold and greed. While there was much of Cendrars' original novel still present in the script, the work as a whole was clearly Eisenstein's because of his additions and changes. He introduced frog races to Gold Rush San Francisco (an *hommage* to Mark Twain



and his story, "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County"), and included the enormous sand dunes of Death Valley in the script after having been so impressed by them on a trip there. Other aspects of the screenplay were purely his own: Eisenstein's infatuation with the circus resulted in a considerably more elaborated circus sequence than the one Cendrars had included in his novel; the boxing match between Sutter and "a giant Negro"¹⁴ was reminiscent of the match he had staged in 1920–21 for Moscow's Proletkult production of Jack London's "The Mexican;" his description of ships docking in the San Francisco fog recall a similar scene filmed in Odessa harbor for "The Battleship Potemkin." Still, Eisenstein could take as many historical and geographical liberties as Cendrars did (and as most Hollywood directors and producers did as well¹⁵), and at times his recreations of reality verged on the absurd, although they were always based on cinematic and dramatic considerations. The sequence

depicting Sutter's journey from Fort Independence, Missouri, to the West is particularly full of inconsistencies, for example: Fort Independence was to look out on giant cacti and desert shrubs; after a few days of travel, the pioneer group was to encounter "totem poles" in this desert; and the Sierra Nevada redwoods that so impressed Eisenstein were to be included lining the banks of the Platte River because their phallic imagery was more evocative of the action planned for that sequence than the more botanically correct cottonwoods or aspens would have been.¹⁶

Eisenstein envisaged a new geography for the projected film, and added what he considered a new montage component to it: sound, used in an entirely innovative way.¹⁷ Sound was to be used to carry action, for transition between sequences, to comment on or satirize dramatic developments, and to encapsulate or clarify what was to be depicted on the screen visually.¹⁸ Ivor Montagu, one of Eisenstein's Hollywood assistants, has remarked that had the "Sutter's Gold" script been filmed at the time it was written, "the subsequent development of cinema might have been speeded by a decade."¹⁹ It was not, of course, and the resultant dominance of naturalistic sound in American films was one of the greatest disappointments Eisenstein felt after leaving Hollywood.

Eisenstein intended to use sound and visual imagery to convey a message to his audience: that California's tremendous possibilities had been spoiled by men's lust for gold. From his ship off San Francisco, Sutter saw what appeared to be "an earthly paradise," yet the reality of Mexican California was disappointing: "lonely hills, some pigs, two or three dilapidated huts and a dying, fever-stricken Spanish friar."²⁰ Governor Alvarado in Monterey was no more impressive to Sutter, and quite unfairly (from a historical point of view), Alvarado was to be sub-

*"They preached box-office to me . . .
And the producers complained
that I didn't seem to get sex appeal
into my films . . ."*

jected to the same type of satirically malicious treatment Kerenskii received in "October." Eisenstein's point was clear, however: the "Californios" were incapable of fulfilling their land's potential, and the energetic Sutter was the obvious counter to their laziness, flatulence, and incompetence.

Sutter created his New Helvetia on land the Mexican colonists had ignored and left virgin, and from Eisenstein's point of view, made of it a rational, well-organized, productive Arcadia. And so it remained until the arrival of Frémont, the annexation of California to the United States, and the discovery of gold at Sutter's Coloma mill. To a degree, the dramatic climax of the projected film was Sutter's ride back from the mill to his fort after inspecting the gold discovery site. The countryside was more beautiful than ever, and after a brief rain shower, "the garment of nature is soft and sparkling. Myriads of raindrops shimmer in the sunshine."²¹ This pastorage was to be replaced by what Eisenstein called a new symphony, one of picks and shovels, of trampling feet and creaking wagons, of axes felling orchards to uncover the gold in the trees' roots.

Sutter's fortune, and with his, California's, had been ascending during the first half of the screenplay. In the second, there was only destruction and tragedy: Sutter's wife arrived from Switzerland only to die at the gates of her husband's farm; Sutter's legal actions against those occupying and despoiling

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Shore of San Francisco

Sutter
Dog

3 Mexican Soldiers

Spanish friar

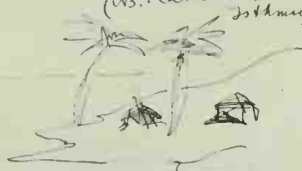
2 pigs

Seagulls & pelicans.

Small boat.

Some where on the
shore, where there are
lots of birds.

(W. 3. Catalina
Island)



page 20 & 21.

Monterey

Governor Alvarado

4-5. ladies

4 Mexican Soldiers

Sutter

Dog.



gate way



Loggia



gate way

small

Loggia

gates

page 21 (continued) - 22.

Sutter fort ("New Helvetia")

Lasky Ranch

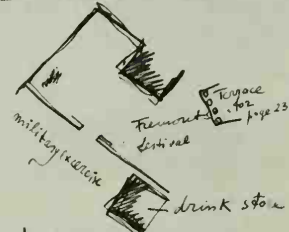


This setting is used
for all connected
with the fort.:

the construction
of the fort. (the fort)
and all the scenes in
this act.

The destruction of
the fort (next act).

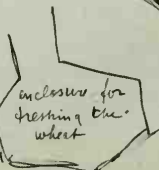
The same setting
by slight changes
is converted in the
"Hermitage" (act
"Six") - by night time.



military exercise

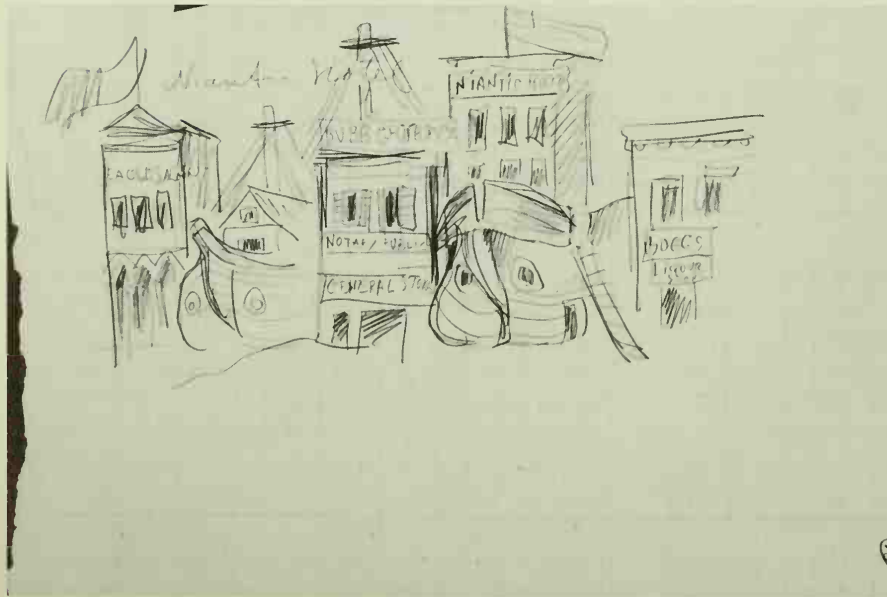
Hermitage

drink stone



enclosure for
freshening the
wheat

Original notes and sketches
by Eisenstein for the film Sutter's
Gold, Hollywood, summer
of 1930.



his lands were often successful, yet the land was worth little after their depredations, and one of his sons was to die in a fire set by disgruntled gold seekers. Finally, Sutter's own moral fiber was weakened by his order that any trespassers on his land were to be shot, only for him to discover that two of those fired on were Indians who had worked for him, and who had feared the gold as much as he. The physical and moral destruction was complete, yet ironic, for the decline of Sutter's fortunes was to coincide closely with the growth of the city of San Francisco as a great metropolis, the symbol of a new philosophical, moral, economic order replacing Sutter's. Irony, in fact, dominated the second half of the script, and was the principal motif used in it. The screenplay was to conclude with Sutter losing his mind, and dying on the steps of a federal courthouse, while awaiting word of the confirmation of his legal victory over those who had ruined his lands. His body would then be swallowed up "by the enormous shadow of the court of justice" which "moves like a black curtain across the steps."²² While the final title was to be accompanied by "the joyous lively song that everybody knows, the song of California,"²³ the tragedy was to have been clear: the complete destruction of Sutter's dream, and the ruination of the dream of California. Kevin Starr has called California a country of the mind,²⁴ and for Eisenstein that was what it had become.

Eisenstein and his associates made detailed financial plans, casting suggestions, set designs, and location studies for the projected film. On the whole, an unusually precise and complete proposal for the film was presented to the studio. Charlie Chaplin recalled that the rumor in Hollywood was that the script was brilliant.²⁵ Paramount, however, rejected it almost immediately: it would be too expensive to produce, and Americans were not interested in history, in any case. These were not the real reasons for

"But there was such an aura of fear cast about me. Everyone seemed frightened to death of what I might do."

the studio's decision, of course: there was Eisenstein's refusal to use the studio's "stars" in his film, his lack of enthusiasm in cooperating with the studio's publicity staff, and a possible political struggle within the Paramount leadership itself. The studio did not approve of the script's moral message — that gold could be a source of destruction in man and nature. To Paramount, it was gold which had created modern California, and the Gold Rush had provided the state with some of its most respected and influential families.

One problem clouded the entire situation: the political climate in Hollywood. Eisenstein touched on this issue in a 1932 interview in New York:

I wanted to make Sutter's Gold . . . They preached box-office to me . . . Nice elderly ladies said Mrs. Sutter should be pictured as a nicer character . . . And the Daughters of Something-or-Other got interested and raised a row . . . A Major Pease and his Blue Shirts said I was a 'Red Dog' . . . And the producers complained that I didn't seem to get sex appeal into my films . . . And the race question entered into my difficulties too, and I don't mean the Negro race . . .²⁶

In fact, this "Major Pease," who identified himself as the head of the Hollywood Technical Directors' Institute, was carrying on a campaign against Eisenstein (whom he called "Hollywood's Messenger From Hell") and against the Paramount management for employing him.²⁷ In Pease's words, Eisenstein, a

"Jewish Bolshevik," had been imported by the "Jews of Paramount" to make a propaganda film.²⁸ Paramount's publicity office did make a continuing effort to defend Eisenstein and the studio from Pease's attacks, but the problem was complicated by Congressman Fish's hearings held in Hollywood in October 1930 to investigate "communist activities" in California. The hearings themselves were ludicrous,²⁹ but they and Pease's activities did increase the tension felt by Eisenstein and Paramount. In addition, on one occasion, Eisenstein had received a phone call telling him he would be kidnapped and hung by the neck from a Joshua tree in the nearby Mojave desert.³⁰ The call was probably made by a crank, and Eisenstein had been the object of threats and scare tactics in Europe and on the American East Coast, yet the Los Angeles police department at this time was notorious for being anti-Semitic, anti-foreign, and anti-radical.³¹ Should some move be taken against him, Eisenstein must have wondered, would the Los Angeles police come to his aid?

It is unlikely, however, that Eisenstein was in any actual personal danger, but the political situation in Southern California was obviously not favorable for a Soviet film director hoping to make a film criticizing any aspect of American life. As the Depression worsened, so too did the chances for any proposal of Eisenstein's to be accepted for production.³² Events moved rapidly after the rejection of the "Sutter's Gold" script. It was agreed that Eisenstein and his assistants would write a script based on Theodore Dreiser's novel, *An American Tragedy*, but before initial preparations could be completed, and after a short meeting with Eisenstein, Paramount announced that the contract tying them together was at an end as of October 23, 1930.³³ The weakening American economy, Major Pease's attacks, and Paramount's realization that Eisenstein would never become a "Hollywood" director, all played impor-

tant roles in producing this outcome.

Eisenstein spent a few more weeks in California to conclude his affairs there. Now referring at times to the state as "Californica,"³⁴ he told one reporter that he had just obtained the Russian rights to Kaufman and Hart's satire on Hollywood, *Once in a Lifetime*, and remarked that "It is a strange place, this Hollywood. . . . Truth, in this instance at least, is stranger than fiction, and far more absurd."³⁵ There were some rumors that Eisenstein might be hired by another film studio, but the gulf between Hollywood's view of motion pictures and Eisenstein's conception of cinema had never been wider,³⁶ and no new contract was signed.

An agreement was reached in Pasadena for Eisenstein to make a film, however. The leftist writer and political aspirant, Upton Sinclair, arranged financing for Eisenstein to travel to Mexico and there make a film based on what he found. While his months in Hollywood had been greatly disappointing to Eisenstein, his Mexican venture would be the foremost creative tragedy of his life, one from which he would never quite recover. A contract was signed in November, and Eisenstein left Los Angeles for Mexico City early in December, perhaps hoping to find in Mexico some semblance of that California lost with the coming of the Gold Rush.

After leaving Hollywood, Eisenstein spent over a year in Mexico, travelling about the country, filming what he found there: ancient pre-Columbian ruins, religious festivals, bullfights, hacienda life, and contemporary Mexican political and military leaders. His contract with Sinclair and the Mexican Film Trust had been to shoot a film in a specified amount of time, then to return to Hollywood to edit the film there. When Eisenstein remained in Mexico considerably longer than the period initially agreed upon, engrossed in his attempt to create a cinematic synthesis of all of Mexican history, Sinclair grew

Eisenstein standing beside Hock Farm sign "Trails of '49."



increasingly weary of the project, and after a lengthy period of wrangling, finally ordered Eisenstein and his film crew back from Mexico in January, 1932. Relations between the two men had reached the point of a final break by the time Eisenstein reached the American border. While the exposed film was all sent on to Los Angeles, Eisenstein and his crew were required to travel to New York and from there back to Europe, with the understanding that the film would be sent on to Moscow for final editing.

Eisenstein never saw more than a small amount of the footage he had shot in Mexico. As a result of his disillusionment with the project, Sinclair refused to send the film, instead disposing of it in ways that

would partially recoup the money he and his friends had invested in it. For Eisenstein, it was the greatest blow of his creative life: he had fallen in love with Mexico (much as he had with the dream of pre-Gold Rush California), and never stopped trying to gain access to the remaining footage — to breathe new life into what he called his “own child.”

Eisenstein's overall experience in California had not been a good one: he had been frustrated by the studio, disappointed by the technicians and filmmakers he met, concerned by the anti-Soviet agitators. That he would later remember Hollywood with some amusement was certainly flavored by his subsequent greater disappointment in Mexico. Eisen-

stein did make several further public statements about his months in Hollywood. In his final interview in Los Angeles, he said he believed progress was no longer possible in the United States, that here there "are only motor cars and miniature golf courses,"³⁷ the evolution of which he used as a parable for the growth of civilization and for the artificiality of life in Hollywood. Eisenstein was more bitter in 1932: he said to a reporter that Hollywood could produce nothing except "weak, melodramatic shams" and that, "by unusual, Hollywood in its reverse manner merely meant commonplace. In other words, they wanted a picture with my name on it but they were shivering with fear at what I might do to upset their organization."³⁸

Eisenstein's final public statements on Hollywood came in 1933, in an article in Moscow's *International Literature*. More critical than he had ever been before, he recounted his difficulties with Paramount, noted the overwhelming importance of money in the American film industry, and the fact that it was businessmen rather than artists who ran the film studios. He summarized the options open to European directors who went to Hollywood:

In general the guest is faced by two dilemmas: to forget personality and convictions, climb the golden merry-go-round and merrily turn out merry products without taking things too seriously — like Lubitsch; or take the tragic view of things and leave the promised land like Reinhardt.³⁹

While he admitted that technologically Hollywood had no equal, he saw Hollywood's greatest weakness in its lack of striving for originality. In different words, he repeated what he had told a *Los Angeles Times* reporter in 1932:

I have no complaints to make. Everyone treated me with the greatest of respect. But there was such an aura of fear cast about me. Everyone seemed frightened to death of

what I might do. And it wasn't that I was a Russian, or a Bolshevik. It was that I might want to do something new, or in a different way. They seemed to be afraid of new things. . . .⁴⁰

To Eisenstein, this was the most damning comment he could make on his Hollywood experience.

The transformation of California by Sutter, the spoliation accompanying the Gold Rush, the new political and social system that grew out of it — for Eisenstein, these all culminated in the artificial, suspicious, timid, "miniature-golf" civilization he came to know in Hollywood in 1930. Eisenstein's dream of a California Arcadia soured in Hollywood and eventually became tragedy in Mexico. He never returned to either of them.

The photograph on page 195 is courtesy of Paramount Pictures Corporation. All others are from the Library, Special Collections, The Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Notes

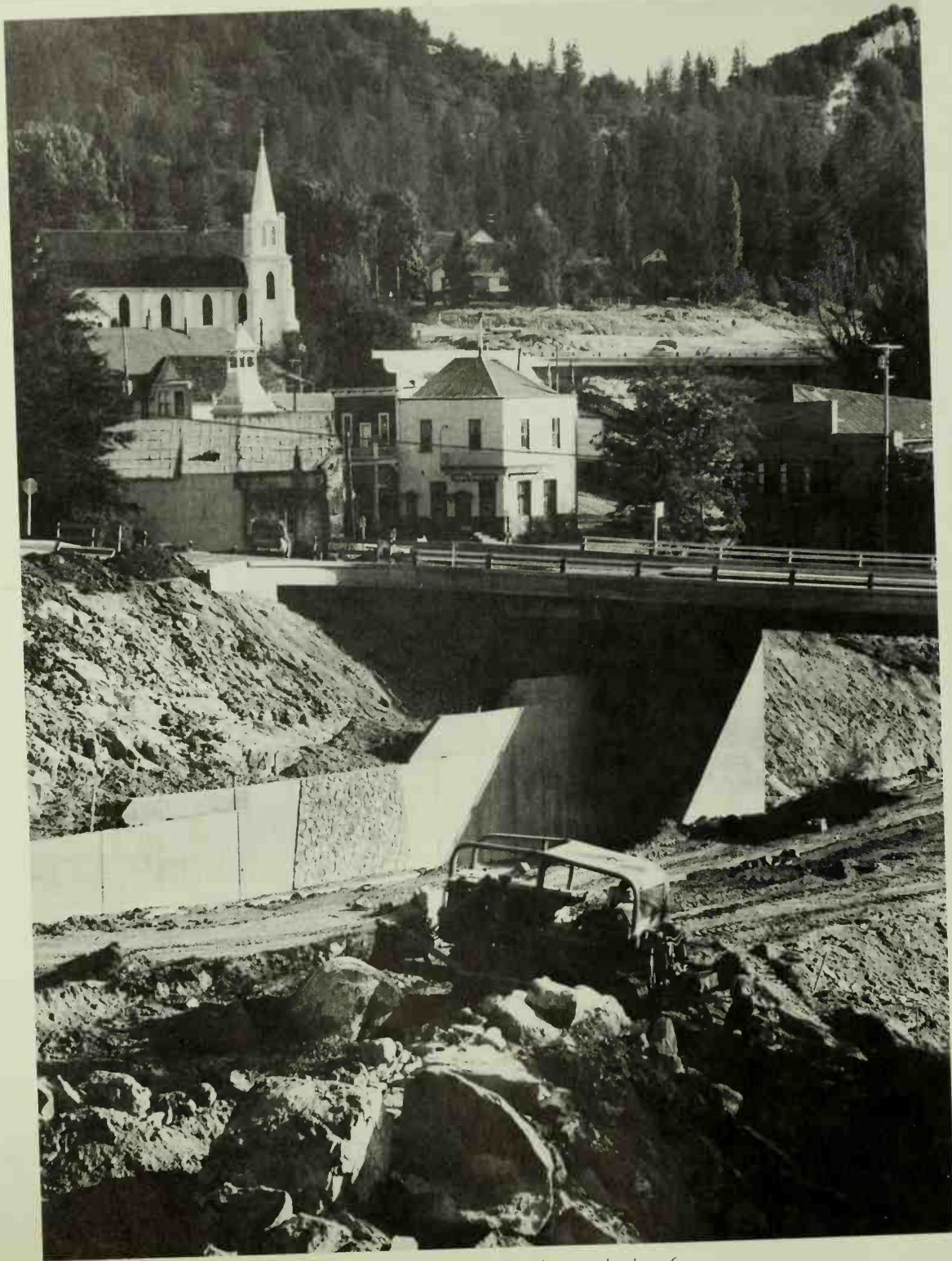
1. On Eisenstein's earlier interest in Hollywood, see Léon Moussinac, *Sergei Eisenstein*, translated by D. Sandy Petry (New York, 1970), p. 47; and Sergei Eisenstein, "Mass Movies," *The Nation*, V. 125 #3253 (November 9, 1927), p. 507.
2. For Eisenstein's understanding of the agreement, see Moussinac, *Eisenstein*, pp. 47-8; and "M. Eisenstein Here," *The New York Times* (May 18, 1930), pp. x-5.
3. Yon Barna, *Eisenstein*, translated by Lise Hunter (Bloomington, 1973), p. 150.
4. On the various film topics discussed, see Barna, *Eisenstein*, pp. 149, 152, 155.
5. For details (and a number of amusing anecdotes) on all this, see Ivor Montagu, *With Eisenstein in Hollywood* (New York, 1969), *passim*.
6. Nathanael West, *The Day of the Locust* (New York, 1939), especially pp. 3-4:
 . . . not even the soft wash of dusk could help the houses. Only dynamite would be of any use against the Mexican

ranch houses, Samoan huts, Mediterranean villas, Egyptian and Japanese temples, Swiss chalets, Tudor cottages, and every possible combination of these styles that lined the slopes of the canyon.

When he noticed that they were all of plaster, lath and paper, he was charitable and blamed their shape on the materials used. Steel, stone and brick curb a builder's fancy a little, forcing him to distribute his stresses and weights and to keep his corners plumb, but plaster and paper knew no law, not even that of gravity.

On the corner of La Huerta Road was a miniature Rhine castle with tarpaper turrets pierced for archers. Next to it was a highly colored shack with domes and minarets out of the *Arabian Nights*.

7. Salka Viertel, *The Kindness of Strangers* (New York, 1969), p. 145.
8. See Eisenstein's letter to Moussinac in Moussinac, *Eisenstein*, p. 53.
9. Barna, *Eisenstein*, p. 154.
10. Published first by Grasset in Paris in 1925 as *L'Or*, and in New York as *Sutter's Gold* (1927).
11. Jay Bochner, *Blaise Cendrars: Discovery and Recreation* (Toronto, 1978).
12. Bochner comments at length on this; see Bochner, *Cendrars*, p. 151.
13. See Viktor Shklovskii, *Eizenshtein* (Moscow, 1976), p. 191 ff.
14. All references (unless otherwise indicated) to the script for "Sutter's Gold" are from Montagu, *With Eisenstein*; here, p. 159. In another version of the script, kept at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Eisenstein described the scene as being "very George Bellows."
15. For an example of this, see Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, pp. 50-51.
16. See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 83.
17. Eisenstein had summarized his position on sound in a speech at UCLA; see *Rob Wagner's Script*, V. III #78 (August 9, 1930), p. 17.
18. Examples of this are present throughout the screenplay; perhaps one of the best of these is the sequence depicting Sutter's wild galloping to his burning Hock Farm: the action would show only Sutter and his horse, but the sound would be that of the crackling of a large fire. See *Synopsis and Arrangement of Scenes for Sutter's Gold*, signed by Sergei Eisenstein, in the Eisenstein archive at the Museum of Modern Art in New York.
19. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 108.
20. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 180. One is reminded here of Eisenstein's own disappointment when he traveled to "Tia Juana" in order to see the "real" Mexico he had read and heard about; see Morris Helprin, "Eisenstein's New Film," *The New York Times* (November 29, 1931), p. 6.
21. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 180. This image is remarkably similar to one in Aleksandr Dovzhenko's contemporaneous film, "Earth;" Eisenstein almost certainly had not seen Dovzhenko's film at this time and may have been inspired by a trip he took through the peach orchards around Selma, California.
22. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 205. From its description, this scene is reminiscent of the final scene in "Battleship Potemkin," when the prow of the ship covers the screen like some great curtain, not falling, but rising.
23. Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 206.
24. Kevin Starr, *Americans and the California Dream* (New York, 1973).
25. Charles Chaplin, *My Autobiography* (New York, 1964), p. 323.
26. *Time* (May 2, 1932), p. 24.
27. For examples of the Pease attacks, see: *Exhibitors Herald World* (June 28, 1930), p. 11; *Rob Wagner's Script*, V. III #72 (June 28, 1930), p. 1.
28. Marie Seton, *Sergei M. Eisenstein* (New York, 1960), p. 168.
29. See Conrad Seiler, "The Red Mongers Go West," *The New Republic*, LXIV (November 12, 1930), pp. 347-348.
30. Seton, *Eisenstein*, p. 174.
31. Carey McWilliams, *Southern California Country* (New York, 1946), p. 291.
32. "Sutter's Gold" was made into a film in 1936 by James Cruze for Universal.
33. See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 120.
34. Seton, *Eisenstein*, p. 165.
35. "Beau Geste," *Outlook and Independent*, CLVI (November 12, 1930), p. 406. One bit of dialog in the play which must have amused Eisenstein comes from a frustrated German director who is in Hollywood to direct a film for a local studio: "What a country! Oh, to be in Russia with Eisenstein!" George S. Kaufman and Moss Hart, *Six Plays by Kaufman and Hart* (New York, 1942), p. 61.
36. It was at this time that Eisensteiff had his now famous meeting with Sam Goldwyn, during which Goldwyn suggested to Eisenstein that he might make something like "Potemkin," "but rather cheaper, for Ronald Coleman." See Montagu, *With Eisenstein*, p. 122.
37. "Eisenstein says 'Adios'," *Los Angeles Times* (December 7, 1930), III:1.
38. "Why Soviet's Film Genius Went Home," *St. Louis Post Dispatch* (May 10, 1932).
39. Sergei Eisenstein, "The Cinema in America," translated by S.D. Kogan, *International Literature*, 1933 #3, p. 104.
40. *Los Angeles Times* (April 26, 1932), quoted in Harry M. Geduld and Ronald Gottesman, editors, *Sergei Eisenstein and Upton Sinclair: The Making and Unmaking of Que Viva Mexico!* (Bloomington, 1970), pp. 319-320.



"Calamity Cut" in Nevada City during the reconstruction of Highway 49/20 in 1967.

Highway Planning In California's Mother Lode

The region from Mariposa to Sierra City on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada attracted the attention of the world when its fabulously rich gold resources were first discovered in 1848. The events surrounding these first discoveries and the great immigration that followed still awe and even mystify the modern inquirer. The surface evidence of this important era in California history remains in isolated areas of the Mother Lode¹ in the form of deserted stamp mills, eroded hillsides, and man-made tunnels and canals. The intensive placer, hydraulic, and drift mining activities of nineteenth century pioneers often left permanent scars upon the land. Some of the more hospitable relics of the gold rush era — the mining towns with their saloons,

The Changing Townscape of Auburn and Nevada City

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The Henry Stone Home, one of the few early clapboard houses in old Auburn to survive the town's many fires, was razed by the highway department in the 1950s.

Auburn's "Four corners," photographed in 1934 for the Historic American Building Survey is now the site of Interstate 80.



hotels and clapboard and brick dwellings — survived temporarily only to be destroyed or devalued by the progress of the twentieth century. With the advent of the automobile and the subsequent construction of superhighways, asphalt, neon, and gimcrack architecture have invaded the Mother Lode, either replacing the earlier structures or debasing what remains.

No single force has undermined the integrity of this region as has the highway. The construction of major highways such as Highway 49 and Interstate 80 has wreaked havoc to many of the Mother Lode's historic communities where conscientious planning and coordination between local, state, and the federal government could have prevented it. Previous highway planning efforts paid little attention to historical and other cultural resources either because of a lack of concern or from a conscious desire to make highways more accessible to local business establishments. The colossal engineering efforts employed in the construction of Interstate 5 through a low-lying area of Sacramento, for example, and the demolition of much of the historic old city could have been avoided had the state followed its original plans to build the highway on the opposite side of the Sacramento River. Past decisions to build or improve thoroughfares directly through historic parts of Sacramento, Grass Valley, Nevada City, and Auburn did not always reflect the necessity for such highway alignments but often a desire to further development interests in those locations.

The construction of U.S. Highway 40 in 1947 and its upgrading to freeway standards in 1957 dealt a major setback to Auburn's historic resources from which it can never recover. Although alternative routes were available, the California Division of Highways chose to build its highway directly through Auburn's historic district, leveling gold rush structures and covering important mining sites. Fol-

lowing much the same path as the nineteenth century Illinois town road, Interstate 80 plowed through Auburn's "four corners" eliminating nearly half of the historic old town. The *Placer Herald* office, a two-story brick structure, built in 1855, was one of the most significant buildings razed by the highway department. The *Placer Herald*, first published by R. Rust and T. Mitchell on September 11, 1852, is the oldest weekly newspaper of continuous publication in the state.² Across from the *Herald* office, the Auburn Firehouse, built in 1892, was moved 150 feet south and was one of the only structures adjacent to the highway that was saved.³

The Henry Stone home, a two-story clapboard cottage built in 1856 near the Auburn Ravine, was one of several private dwellings that was taken for the highway. Further up the Auburn Ravine near Cross Street, an assay lab was razed.⁴ Much of the ravine from the present western city limit to Nevada Street was put in a culvert and paved over. The Auburn Ravine and others in the immediate vicinity were extensively mined for gold beginning in 1848 spurring the development of the town in that location.

The Orleans Hotel, a gold rush hostelry, and Gordon's Grocery and Hardware, both built in 1852, were also condemned and torn down for the highway. The Orleans Hotel, originally located on Washington Street, was moved to the corner of Main and Court streets in 1864.⁵ Gordon's Grocery was one of several gold rush structures in Auburn with a rounded street facade. The block originally occupied by these two buildings now contains a Shell service station. Unfortunately, highway construction often spurs heavy commercial buildup on surrounding properties. Strip commercial development along Highway 50 in Placerville and along other highways in the region has overrun many of the gold country's historic areas.

"Beer direct from the Faucet"—Passersby
are invited into the Round Corner in
Auburn shown here in 1934 along with the
Orleans Hotel to the left.

Nevada City is an example of a gold rush community literally dissected by modern "improvements." The "Gold Run Freeway," a combination of State Highways 49 and 20, was constructed through the center of the town in 1967. With the support of the Nevada City Council, the State Division of Highways created a man-made gorge through the town's center leaving the remaining groups of historic structures isolated on the surrounding hillsides.⁶ "Calamity Cut," as freeway opponents once called it, stands today as an affront to principles of enlightened highway planning. It is ironic that since the state legislature recommended that Highway 49 be designated a state scenic highway in 1963,⁷ the California Department of Transportation (CalTrans) has irrevocably destroyed many significant resources within that corridor.

Highway 49 and 20 now enters Nevada City from the south and crosses Gold Run Creek near its intersection with Sacramento Street. The highway then follows Deer Creek and passes under Broad Street between the town plaza and the National Exchange Hotel. After curving around Ott's Assay Office on Main Street the highway turns north following the course of Manzanita Creek between Coyote and High streets.

The most dramatic effect of the freeway in Nevada City is the barrier it creates to east-west access across town. The plaza was traditionally the center of Nevada City as Broad and Main streets entered from the west and Boulder and Sacramento streets from the east and south. Main Street, south of Union Street, was eliminated and access to the plaza was cut off. The Union Hotel, the Union and National livery and feed stables, several saloons, hardware stores, and an undertaker's office formerly occupied the portions of Main and Broad streets eliminated by the freeway.

The Grass Valley-Nevada City district has been

one of the most productive gold mining areas in the state, even more productive than the Sonora vein which runs between Mariposa and Georgetown.⁸ In his *History of California*, Hubert Howe Bancroft presents the following account of the formation of Nevada City and early mining activities:

Nevada stands forward preeminently [as] a mining county . . . Nevada City, which had an early start, . . . was in March 1850 organized as a town, and subsequently as a city, with the dignity of county seat. All around rose flourishing camps, especially along Deer and Brush creeks, the latter yielding within a few years some \$3,000,000. There were the hills of Selby, Phelps, Oregon, Coyote, Lost, Wet, and American, the latter famous as the scene of Matteson's first hydraulic venture; the flats known as Gold, Thomas, and Selby; the rich Gold Run where claims sold in April 1850 at from \$5,000 to \$18,000; Gold Tunnel sold in March 1851 for \$130,000.⁹

On the banks of Deer Creek and Gold Run the miners struck some of the richest and most famous diggings in California.¹⁰ The surviving brick, stone, and wood structures of the pioneer days, which blend so well with the natural landscape of the Sierra foothills, stand as mute evidence of the early development of what is now called industrial minerals.

Two buildings along Main Street are typical of the early brick architecture of Nevada City. Ott's Assay Office, built in 1851, processed much of the gold mined locally and is also credited with assaying the first ore taken from the Comstock Lode.¹¹ The South Yuba Canal Office, next door, built a 16-mile canal including a 3200-foot tunnel at a cost of \$350,000,¹² which later provided a practically inexhaustible supply of water to the town and nearby mines. These buildings, along with the National Exchange Hotel, are now included in the National Register of Historic Places and fall within an historic district created by the city in 1968 shortly after the freeway construction.



The following observations of Nevada City, written in 1948 for the Division of Mines, described the charm of the old town, yet foretold its vulnerability to modern changes.

Like many other settlements in the Mother Lode, Nevada City has acquired a surface veneer of modern life, but has still not lost the peculiar charm which pervades these century-old towns. This charm derives from and persists by reason of the old buildings which still form the physical core of present business activities. Nevada City, like its age-mates farther south and north, is a holdover, a tarriant, from the booming 'fifties. And not until the brick and stone buildings are torn down and the towns laid out with a view to convenience will they lose their particular flavor — the Mother Lode town is something unique, and something with universal appeal.¹³

Although much of Nevada City's old town remains today, the freeway and resultant disruption of existing street patterns and vistas detract from the via-

bility and attractiveness of the historic quarter. Even the increased convenience alluded to above has not been achieved, since the freeway simply links two towns less than ten miles apart on an otherwise two-lane highway.

It was in the field of transportation that Congress first provided laws inhibiting and prohibiting the destruction of historic sites in federally financed construction programs. This is not surprising since the federal-aid highway program had generated some of the more noteworthy problems regarding historic preservation. Before 1966 federal legislation provided limited protection to some sites under the Antiquities Act of 1906 and the Historic Sites Act of 1935; however, both acts did little to protect privately owned properties or to restrain destruction of sites by the federal government itself.¹⁴

The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and the Department of Transportation Act (DOT



Act), enacted by Congress in 1966, both addressed the problem of historic preservation in federal or federally assisted undertakings. In addition to establishing a National Register of Historic Places, which includes districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects significant in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture, the NHPA ensures that when registered properties are threatened by federal or federally assisted undertakings, such projects will be subject to special review and comment. Section 106 of the NHPA directs the Secretary of Transportation to take into account the effect of any DOT-licensed or funded undertaking on National Register properties and to afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to comment.

In the Department of Transportation Act, Congress declared that special effort be made to preserve the natural beauty of the countryside and public park and recreation lands, wildlife and waterfowl refuges, and historic sites. The Federal Aid Highway Act of

1968 clarified this policy and amended section 4(f) of the DOT Act to read, in part,

... the Secretary of Transportation shall not approve any program which requires the use of . . . any land from an historic site of national, state, or local significance as determined by the Federal, State, or local officials having jurisdiction thereof unless (1) there is no feasible and prudent alternative to the use of such land, and (2) such program includes all possible planning to minimize harm to such . . . historic site resulting from such use.¹⁵

The DOT Act thus goes beyond the scope of Section 106 of the NHPA to protect not only historic sites included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register but also sites determined to be of historic significance by State and local officials.

Historic preservation is also given due consideration in federally assisted public works projects as a result of the National Environmental Policy Act enacted in 1969. In the draft Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) the federal agency must identify properties included in or eligible for inclusion in the

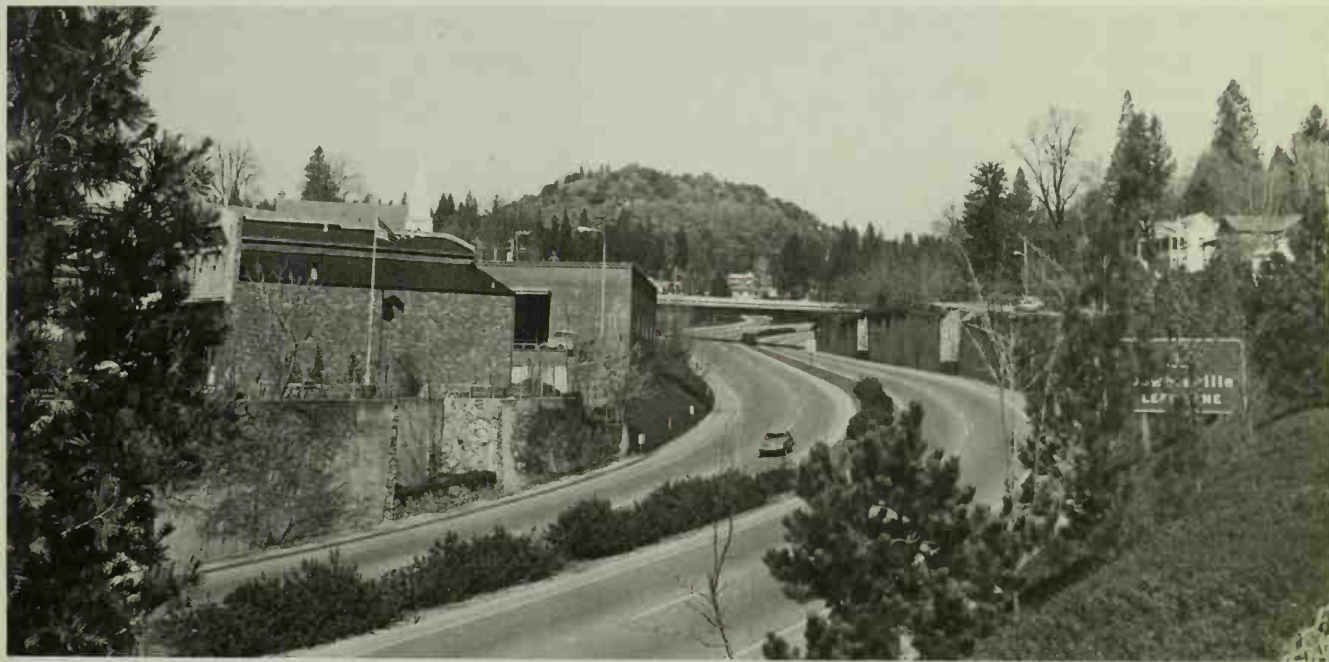
The National Exchange Hotel in Nevada City was included in the National Register of Historic Places shortly after freeway construction.

National Register and provide evidence of coordination with the State Historic Preservation Officer (SHPO) concerning the identification of such properties and the evaluation of effect.¹⁶

CalTrans began planning the reconstruction of Interstate 80 through the community of Auburn in the mid-1960s prior to the development of environmental assessment requirements. A freeway agreement with the City of Auburn was executed in 1966, and preliminary designs were drawn. Project delays forced CalTrans to prepare an Environmental Impact Statement to conform with recently passed state and federal legislation.¹⁷ Although a draft EIS was prepared in 1973, and the City of Auburn had agreed on a compromise design, the project was postponed. CalTrans has resumed negotiations with the city and

hopes to obtain environmental approval in 1981 and begin construction by 1983. Under existing regulations, CalTrans must evaluate historical and cultural resources prior to environmental approval and mitigate any adverse impacts.

Several important historic sites, structures, and districts, many of which are included in or eligible for inclusion in the National Register, are within the two-mile project area. "Historic Old Auburn," a thirty-seven acre historic district, is directly east of Interstate 80. Accepted to the National Register in 1970, the district contains structures dating from the mid-nineteenth century. "Historic Old Auburn" is also listed by the State of California as an historical landmark.¹⁸ In determining the impact of the proposed construction on these historical resources and



A compromise between highway planners and historians resulted in this curve of the freeway around Ott's Assay Office (left).



others within the highway corridor, federal, state and local officials will be testing the ability of government to effectively incorporate preservation objectives into the highway planning process.

During the California gold rush, Auburn's rich dry diggings and unique location caused it to become a trading center and transportation hub for a vast mining region.¹⁹ The town of Auburn was built around the ravines that intersected near the present Southern Pacific Railroad bridge over Interstate 80. In July 1849, William Gwynn and H.M. House started trading posts and a considerable population began to accumulate.²⁰ The name of the settlement was changed from North Fork Dry Diggings to Auburn in the Fall of 1849. Some controversy surrounds the final naming of the town, but many attribute the origin to a popular poem by Oliver Goldsmith. In "Deserted Village," Goldsmith described an idyllic village on a plain.²¹ The pioneers at a meeting in Gwynn's store sarcastically named Auburn after this village because its rocky hills and ravines presented such a diametrically different setting.²²

Auburn was the center of five main wagon roads in the period following the gold rush. Roads led from Auburn across the Forest Hill Ridge to Yankee Jim's and Forest Hill. This toll road, built and maintained with private monies, was called the Auburn and Yankee Jim's Turnpike. Another route led from Sacramento through Auburn to Illinoistown with a branch crossing the Bear River and leading to Grass Valley and Nevada City. The Auburn Ravine Turnpike, also a private toll road, followed the Auburn Ravine from the plaza west to Ophir and Virginiatown. The fifth wagon route followed the ridge south to Folsom.²³ In 1860, Auburn was linked by stage lines to the Sacramento, Placer and Nevada Railroad which terminated five miles from town. The Central Pacific Railroad began service to Auburn on May 22, 1865 with the local depot northeast of

the old town. In 1881, Auburn continued to supply the towns and mining camps along the Forest Hill Divide with supplies and handled most of Placer County's gold export. "The total amount of gold-dust, coin and currency shipped through Wells Fargo & Co.'s Express Auburn during the year 1881 was \$434,635. Of this amount \$281,379 was gold-dust."²⁴

Claude Chana, a Frenchman who immigrated to Placer County by wagon train in 1846, is credited with the first discovery of gold in the Auburn Ravine on May 16, 1848.²⁵ While camping en route to visit his friend James Marshall at Coloma, Chana and a group of French and Indians found gold in the ravines near Auburn and panned there for three weeks. The Auburn Ravine from Ophir east to Auburn and the other ravines which converged near the town plaza in Auburn were among the richest dry diggings in the state. Placerville, once known as Hangtown, also contained dry diggings that rivaled the value of those near Auburn and Ophir.²⁶ Most of the first gold mines in California were sites where gold was panned or gathered in sluice boxes and long toms either from dried stream beds (dry diggings) or from bars along the rivers. This gold had collected in crevices called placers in the bedrock of the stream or river. Later when these sources were exhausted, more costly operations including hydraulic mining, river diversion, and tunneling were undertaken.

During the years 1848 to 1857 many of the gold rush pioneers worked the rich dry diggings in and near Auburn. After Chana's party left in June 1848, Nicholas Algier and a group of Indians panned in the Auburn Ravine and took out a large amount of gold. Samuel Seabough in a sketch entitled, "The Beginning of Placer Mining in California," wrote, "In the Dry Diggings near Auburn during the month of August 1848, one man got \$16,000 out of five cartloads of dirt. In the same diggings a good many were

collecting from \$800 to \$1,500 per day.”²⁷

Hiram R. Hawkins, writing in the *Directory of the County of Placer for the Year 1861*, told of his visit to the region in the first days of July 1849. He wrote, “The ravines which converged in what is now the plaza showed signs of having been wrought to some extent during the previous rainy season” (winter of 1848–1849).²⁸ Buildings were constructed so close to the rich ravines that later shop owners often undermined the structures and retrieved substantial amounts of gold.²⁹ It was once common for horses to kick up gold nuggets in the streets of Auburn’s town plaza.³⁰

The Chinese had a substantial impact on the early development of Auburn. In 1852 nearly thirty per-

cent of Placer County’s population were natives of China.³¹ Many of the county’s Chinese immigrants settled on upper Sacramento Street near Brewery Lane in Auburn. Two of their gold rush structures built in 1855 remain today — the Joss House, used for religious worship and the Mercantile Building, an impressive brick structure with a stepped, false front above its first story. In addition to their settlement in Auburn, the Chinese founded a sizable colony north of Newcastle near Secret Ravine. This gold rush town, called China Town, contained many false front buildings along an avenue of large cottonwoods and survived until the late 1950s when it was razed for the construction of Interstate 80.³²





Captioned, "The Heathen Chinese Prospecting, California 1852," this photograph shows evidence of discrimination at the mines.

OPPOSITE: A daguerreotype taken in 1852 in the Auburn Ravine provides a rare glimpse of a woman in the gold fields.

Captioned "Head of Auburn Ravine, 1852," this daguerreotype shows white and Chinese miners sluicing near Auburn's town plaza.



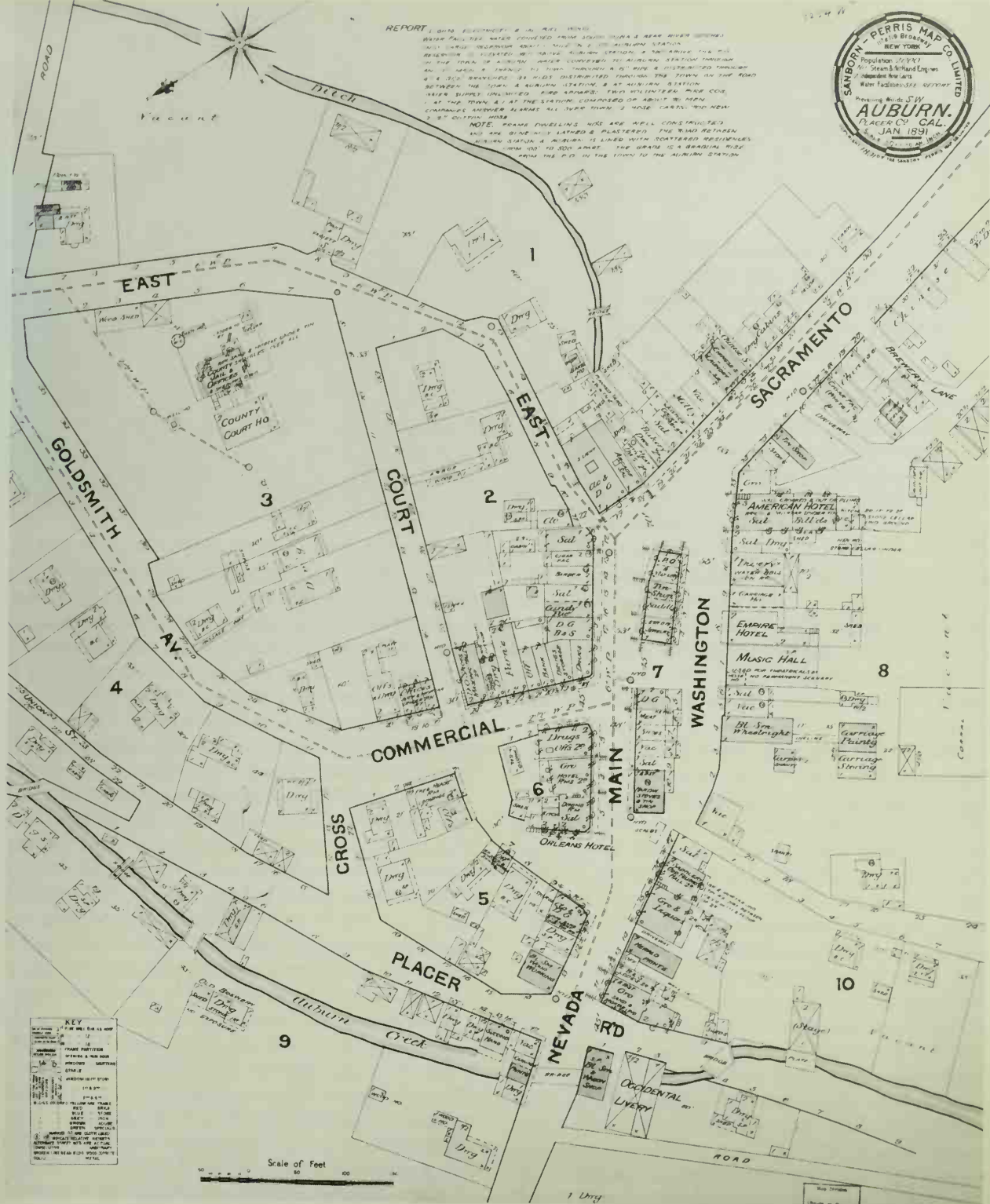
Buildings along Commercial Street in Auburn – the Placer County Courthouse is visible in the upper right background.



A Chinese cemetery shows signs of recent vandalism as do other Chinese cemeteries throughout the Mother Lode. Many of the Chinese who died in California had come here to make their fortunes and had intended to return to their homeland. Many made arrangements to have their remains dug up after a decade or so and shipped back to China.³³ The practice was common in Auburn and was carried out for many years following the gold rush.³⁴ Though the Chinese worked the gold mines alongside the American and European miners, they were often

driven from the diggings by a combination of physical violence and a foreign miners' tax.³⁵

The first buildings constructed around the ravines in Auburn's town plaza were of primitive cloth, frame, and log design. During the early 1850s, clapboard and brick structures appeared.³⁶ In April 1855, the editor of the *Placer Herald* noted that because of the dense placement of buildings around the plaza the town was especially susceptible to fire. He warned his readers that, "by reason of our numerous Chinese population, we are particularly liable."³⁷ A fire on



Old Auburn as recorded by the Sanborn-Perris Map Company in 1891.

June 4, 1855, that reportedly began in Auburn's Chinatown, destroyed most of the town.³⁸

One of the few buildings that survived this fire was a brick grocery and hardware store, called the Round Corner, at the intersection of Main and Commercial streets. The building was designed to be fireproof and was completed shortly before the fire. Robert Gordon, the proprietor and a native of Ireland, prevented a group of townspeople from rebuilding the town at Rich Flat, a mining site southeast of town.³⁹ A second major fire occurred in Auburn in 1859 causing several hundred thousand dollars in damages. By 1890 over half of Auburn's commercial buildings were stone or masonry, a testament to the previous fires.

Auburn began the Gay Nineties with many of its post-gold rush structures intact. Much of the town's activities centered around the "four corners," where Placer Road intersected Nevada Street. A toll bridge, constructed in 1855 at a cost of \$328, spanned the Auburn and Rich ravines west of the four corners.⁴⁰ Auburn's town center was a terminus of teaming, staging, and express operations, servicing the more isolated parts of Placer County and the surrounding region. Within the town center were the post office, the Wells Fargo Express Office, and various banks. About nine livery, saddlery, carriage, and wagon shops serviced the prevalent transportation form of the day — the horse and wagon. Many hotels built during the gold rush continued to flourish at the turn-of-the-century as Auburn became a renowned health resort and agricultural center.⁴¹ The most notable of these hotels, the Orleans, Empire, and American, were located along Washington and Main streets. Auburn's last major fire occurred in July 1905 and destroyed the Empire Hotel, the city hall, and a music hall.

Among the hundreds of mining camps born during the California gold rush, Auburn is one of only a

few that have remained economically viable to the present day. Because of this unique position, many of Auburn's historic structures have been adapted for modern use. Even though Auburn experienced three major fires, its townspeople rebuilt what was lost and retained pride in the town's cultural heritage.

As the population of California grew and the use of the automobile became widespread, state and federal highway authorities sought to span the country with major highways. The original construction of Interstate 80 and the adjacent commercial development that followed eliminated a significant portion of Auburn's old town. A proposed reconstruction of Interstate 80 through Auburn would require the widening of a 2.1 mile section of highway from four to six lanes and the addition of modern interchanges and access roads. CalTrans recently upgraded the highway on both sides of Auburn creating a bottleneck traffic situation during peak hours. Although some improvements to the highway may be necessary, proposed designs would sacrifice more of the town's resources than it would receive in benefits.

A portion of "Historic Old Auburn," would be taken to improve egress from the highway into the town. Less than one acre of land in the district will be required to convert Maple Street, now a city street, to an exit ramp off the interstate highway. None of Auburn's remaining nineteenth century buildings would be razed; however, there would be increased noise levels and adverse aesthetic effects along Commercial Street due to highway encroachment.

Most of the structures on Commercial Street were built shortly after the fire of 1855. Lawyers Row, built in 1855 by Anderson and Mills, housed lawyers' offices during the "turbulent days of early Auburn," and was used in the 1880s by the Hart Fellows Community project for the publication of the Republican newspaper, *Stars and Stripes*.⁴² The structure has two-foot-thick walls of sun-dried brick, iron doors,



The iron doors, shake canopy and thick brick walls of Lawyers Row in Auburn were the local architect's answer to the threat of fire.

and a shake canopy across the front. East of Lawyers Row is a group of private and commercial buildings constructed from the 1860s through the 1880s. The first of these, the Masonic Lodge, was built in 1860. This two-story brick structure exhibits elegant features and proportions typical of Classical Revival architecture. Many of the materials, including the iron work of the second-story ballustrade came to Auburn via Cape Horn.⁴³ During the gold rush, many building materials and often whole buildings were constructed in the East or in Europe and shipped to California around Cape Horn.⁴⁴ Other structures along Commercial Street have been converted into modern shops and offices with their exteriors basically unaltered.

Northeast of "Historic Old Auburn," a group of early California bungalows would be affected by the construction of a massive system of interchanges at the junction of State Highway 49 and Interstate 80. The realignment of entrance and exit ramps would require the demolition of a number of structures from a residential district along Pine Street. Most of these private homes are small, single-story houses with open plans and raised foundations, typical of California Bungalow architecture.⁴⁵ The Pine Street houses, constructed between 1895 and 1925, com-

prise a viable residential neighborhood that has retained its original autonomy.

As a district representing "the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, and method of construction," the Pine Street bungalows may be eligible for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places.⁴⁶ The area north of Broad Street, now Lincoln Way, was subdivided in 1895 by W. B. Lardner, a local statesman and attorney.⁴⁷ Three houses were built before 1900, and most were completed by 1912. According to J. T. Riley, a 100-year-old building contractor, one of the Pine Street houses was designed and built by "Uncle Dave" Lanager.⁴⁸ Lanager, a turn-of-the-century architect and builder, also completed the Auburn Masonic Hall in 1916 after the original designer, A. D. Fellows, developed a serious illness.

The Pine Street area in Auburn, like a section of West Berkeley currently under consideration for the National Register, does not highlight high architecture but rather working class vernacular. Future decisions on National Register nominations will affect whether these and other examples of less flamboyant architectural styles are retained to show some semblance of how the majority of Americans have lived. Russell Wright, planning consultant to the Depart-



The David Lanager Home on Pine Street in Auburn was constructed by a local architect and builder as his residence in 1912.

The photograph on page 204 is by Barry Wolman, courtesy of California Tomorrow. Photos on pages 206, 209 and 216 are from the Library of Congress. Those appearing on pages 210, 211, 219 and 220 are by the author. The map of Nevada City is by Barbara Lind after Sanborn Perris Map Company, 1898. The map of Auburn on page 217 is from the Bancroft Library. Daguerreotypes on pages 214 and 215 are courtesy of the California State Library. The view of the "Heathen Chinee" is from the CHS Library.

Notes

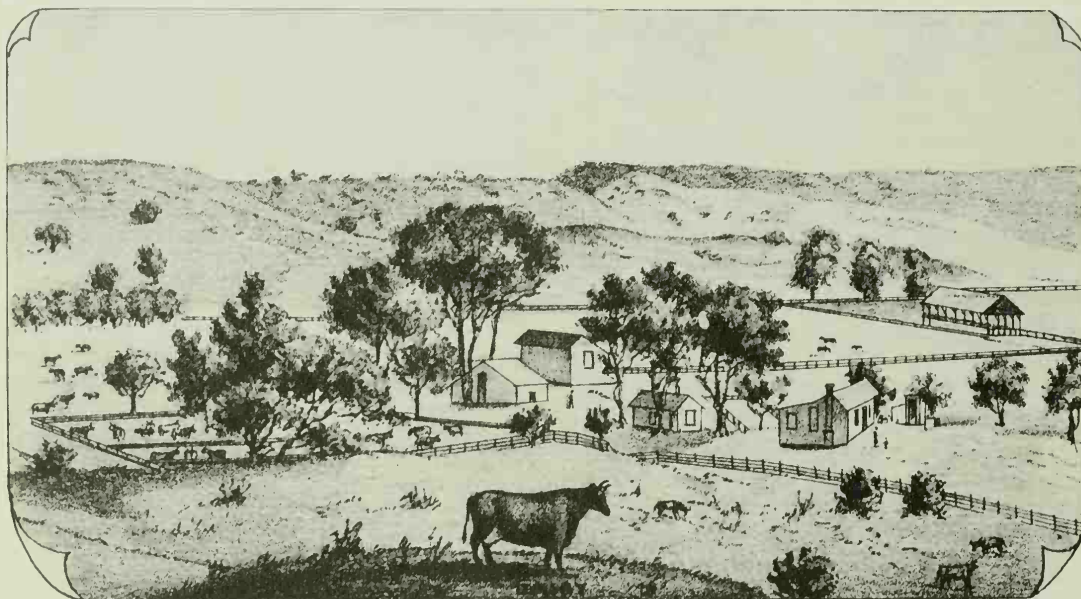
1. The origin of the term Mother Lode and the region it encompasses is described in the following account from Dorothy G. Jenkins, "Sierran Roads of Yesterday and Today," Olaf P. Jenkins and others, *Geologic Guidebook along Highway 49, Sierran Gold Belt* (San Francisco: California Department of Natural Resources, Division of Mines [Bulletin 141], 1948), p. 10. "Indeed the very name Mother Lode is a heritage from the Mexican miners who were among the earliest comers. Their native province in Mexico was Sonora, a rich mining district with veins of gold-bearing quartz similar to the great dominant veins that extend about 70 miles in a fairly straight line from Mariposa north to Plymouth. The Sonoran vein was known as Veta Madre and the Mexicans applied the name to what they believed to be the source of the rich placers in the new field. . . . But they left as witness of their brief sojourn the name they gave to the dominant vein — a name that soon came to designate the whole region of the southern mines, and then to embrace the entire gold belt from Mariposa to Downieville."
2. Edward C. Kemble, *History of California Newspapers 1846-1858* (Los Gatos: Talisman Press, 1962), pp. 146, 201. Warren R. Howell, *Early Newspapers and Periodicals of California and the West* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1970), p. 79.
3. Hero E. Rensch, "Historic American Building Survey Inventory Work Sheets: Auburn, California," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, 1961).
4. State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Highways, "Land Required for State Highway" (Pla-37-Aub, Case No. 5768), January 1944.
5. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
6. Alfred Heller, "Treasure of the Sierra Foothills," *Cry California*, II (Fall 1967), pp. 4-14.
7. Scenic Highway Advisory Committee, *Master Plan for Scenic Highways* (Sacramento, 1963). This plan was the basis for California Senate Bills 1467 and 1468 enacted in 1963.
8. C.A. Logan, "History of Mining and Milling Methods in California," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 35.

ment of Transportation and others, suggests that "to be effective the National Register listings must be supplemented to recognize the great number of buildings and sites of less than national significance that contribute to the architectural and cultural importance and character of a community."⁴⁹

The historic significance of buildings, structures, and sites in or contiguous to highway corridors is primarily determined on the basis of National Register criteria. The broad and subjective nature of these regulations has prompted some agencies, including the District 4 office of CalTrans in San Francisco, to expand and clarify these standards.⁵⁰ Pursuant to a state-local plan for the preservation of the gold country, the state should designate the historic and scenic places in the region and protect them from future state construction activities. Counties and cities along Highway 49 can adopt roadside controls that would effectively enforce the highway's scenic designation. Local ordinances protecting historically significant structures and districts can ensure the compatibility of future improvements and the economic survival of these vanishing resources.

9. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California*, VI (San Francisco: History Company, Publishers, 1888) pp. 356-358, note 26.
10. Erwin G. Gudde, *California Gold Camps* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) p. 136, citing Isaac J. Wistar, *Autobiography 1827-1905* (Philadelphia: Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology, 1914) I, p. 126.
11. Oliver E. Bowan, Jr., "Geologic Maps and Notes along Highway 49," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 76.
12. Bancroft, VI, p. 359, citing *San Francisco Bulletin*, November 29, 1856.
13. "Division of Mines Building Survey," Olaf P. Jenkins, *Geologic Guidebook*, p. 156.
14. Robert C. Crecco, "Historic Preservation: Consumers' Interest Protected and Encouraged in Transportation Area," *Transportation Topics*, 1 (4) November 1973.
15. *Department of Transportation Act*, Public Law 89-670, 80 U.S.C. 931.
16. Federal Highway Administration, *Federal-aid Highway Manual*, FHPM 7-7-2, Section 19(a), December 30, 1974.
17. State of California, Department of Public Works, Division of Highways, District 3, "Draft Environmental Impact and Section 4-f Statement: Interstate 80, Placer County," (Marysville, 1973).
18. State of California, Department of Parks and Recreation, *California Inventory of Historic Resources*, (Sacramento, 1976).
19. Mildred B. Hoover, Hero Rensch, and Ethel Rensch, *Historic Spots in California*, 2nd ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 270.
20. R.J. Steele et al., comps., *Directory of the County of Placer for the Year 1861* (San Francisco: Charles F. Robbins, 1861), pp. 7-8.
21. *Goldsmith's Poems*, (Chicago: Belford, Clark, and Company, 1880) p. 23.
22. Myron Angel, *History of Placer County* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1882), pp. 365-6. Leonard M. Davis, "A Study of an Early California Mining Camp" (M.A. thesis, Sacramento State College, 1953), pp. 12-20.
23. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 270.
24. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 367-8.
25. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-7.
26. Davis, "Early California Mining Camp," pp. 1-6.
27. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 66-7.
28. Steele, *Directory of Placer County*, p. 7.
29. Bancroft, VI, p. 355, note 22. "The story is told that some of the richest ground was found beneath [H.M.] House's hotel, and so enabling him to devote his leisure moments to digging under cover, and earning \$100 a day. A \$4000 nugget was reported."
30. Davis, "Early California Mining Camp," p. 149. Davis presents the following account from the *Alta California* (May 9, 1850): "The miners in the village of Auburn near the North Fork are doing remarkably well. The ravine running through the town is being dug up even to the doors of the stores. Six men working a lead in front of Mr. House's store took out one morning last week \$600 in coarse gold and averaged \$100 each daily for the last week."
31. *The Weekly Placer Herald*, November 20, 1852.
32. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 271.
33. David Johnston, "Chinese Graves: Old Cemeteries Fall Prey to Time, Vandals," *Los Angeles Times*, July 16, 1978.
34. Keith Lukens, Auburn District Cemetery Director, July 1978.
35. Harold Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1960), p. 365.
36. Steele, *Directory of Placer County*, p. 7.
37. *The Weekly Placer Herald*, April 28, 1855.
38. Angel, *History of Placer County*, pp. 366-7.
39. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
40. "Guide to Historic Old Auburn" (Auburn: Auburn Area Chamber of Commerce, 1974).
41. Hoover, *Historic Spots in California*, p. 269.
42. Kenneth L. Milam, "National Register of Historic Places Nomination: Historic Old Auburn" (Auburn: Placer County Parks and Historical Restoration Commission, 1970).
43. Rensch, "HABS Inventory Work Sheets."
44. "Among the notable architectural novelties resorted to in the desperate search for living space were prefabricated sheet metal buildings imported from all parts of Europe and Asia. Iron houses and warehouses manufactured by E.T. Bellhouse of Manchester and John Walker of London were imported to California in numbers in 1849. . . . Many of the frame houses imported during the gold rush were consigned for ultimate shipment to inland communities and isolated mountain hamlets. The first recorded dwellings in Stockton and Marysville were clapboard houses that arrived from the metropolis by river steamer after a sea journey around South America." (Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, pp. 38-42).
45. Marcus Whiffen, *American Architecture since 1780* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1969), pp. 217-20. Kirker, *California's Architectural Frontier*, pp. 127-9.
46. *Federal Register*, Vol. 39, No. 18, Part II, Section 800.10(a).
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48. J.T. Riley, Interview, July 28, 1978.
49. Russell Wright, *Incorporating Historic Preservation Objectives into the Highway Planning Process*, (Washington, D.C.: Department of Transportation, Office of the Secretary [DOT-OS-20087], 1974), p. 2.
50. State of California, Department of Transportation, District 4, "Historic Properties Survey Report, 04-SCL-101, Post Miles 17.2/29.4, Construction of Freeway from Morgan Hill to San Jose, Santa Clara County," (San Francisco, 1977), pp. 4-20.

“like a bright tree of life . . .”



Farmland Settlement of the Sacramento River Delta

At the beginning there was a great expanse of virgin, fertile land sliced by a waterway running from the mountains to the sea. Laced throughout with winding tributaries, graced by an abundance of lush, natural vegetation and wild game, its waters churned with fish of incredible length and size, its peace shattered only by thousands of pairs of wings taking flight. The region was unspoiled and unknown to the civilized world, save for a few sparse accounts by early explorers and trappers, a wilderness preserved by a natural physical isolation that discouraged settlement.

Then, discovery! A tiny flake of metal, gold — a creation of nature — drew men of many nations away from home in 1849 in the hope of possessing it. They came into the hills of an, as yet, unsettled territory, away from familiar surroundings and into the vast unknown in search of the elusive pay dirt.

The river was a link. Promise of an easy fortune brought shiploads of anxious gold seekers up the winding waterway, affording them the quickest and least uncomfortable route to the waiting gold fields. Some saw the land for its fine farmland potential and remembered it. Rising one day from their labors to find thousands of other men intent upon the same seemingly unattainable goal, these few returned to build homes and discover a more lasting fortune in the fertile farmlands of the Sacramento River Delta. They would come to know the river, in the way one historian referred to it: "like a bright tree of life."¹

As early as 1849 argonauts-turned-farmers, who had left the inclement weather and undependable income of the gold fields to take advantage of the Delta's natural resources, were planting small gardens and chopping wood for transport to boomtowns and mining camps on the same riverboats carrying more eager young men to the gold fields. One passenger took time to note "in little spots where the thicket had been cleared away, patches of

cabbages and other hardy vegetables, which seemed to have a thrifty growth."²

Just as the Sacramento had teasingly deposited chunks of precious metal along its shores to the east, it had also left rich deposits of sediment and topsoil to filter down through the dense tules and thick underbrush during each flooding season. A soil was thereby created with potential for fruit, vegetable, and grain production unparalleled in size and quality of yield. Impenetrable foundations of loam, clay, silt, sand, gravel, and other organic materials had settled fifty feet, layer upon layer. Carried to this site by centuries of running water, the same layering of rotting reeds and tules formed a peaty soil above it, rich in nitrogen and incredibly fertile.³ But for an occasional natural knoll or Indian burial mound, the land remained level and subject to widespread flooding in the spring and early summer months when heavy rains and melting snow in the Sierra Nevada caused the river to rise. Once the flood waters receded, the land remained drought free and naturally irrigated by river seepage that kept the soil moist to within a few inches of its surface.⁴

Year-round mild temperatures, combined with a long growing season and short rain season, insured uninterrupted growth of most vegetables throughout the year, exceeding size and weight standards set elsewhere. Potatoes weighing several pounds each,

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squash tipping the produce scales at 300 pounds each, and fifty-pound cabbages were not uncommon. Alfalfa and barley colored the levees a deep emerald green, providing feed for the prize stock and dairy farms that could boast the sweetest milk and milk products in the valley. Blackberries and strawberries, growing in wild, viney profusion along the riverbank were leased out in patches and cultivated for a percentage of the crop. By the 1890s, strawberries alone could bring from \$500 to \$1000 per acre gross. One vast orchard of apricot, cherry, plum, peach, prune, pear, and other deciduous fruit trees extended a full forty miles from Sacramento to Rio Vista. The branches of Washington Navels often strained with the weight of oranges twelve inches in circumference, clustered by the dozen. In 1860, the Sacramento Delta fruit crop was valued at \$150,900, and as continued reclamation opened up more land for fruit tree planting, it had jumped to \$325,200 by 1879. Grain sacks were piled like fortress walls on the levees, overloading the great barges.⁵

And yet, here was a perplexing paradox. At once a farmer's dream and a farming nightmare, this potential garden land owed its being to the river. This same river that offered a livelihood for some as valuable as a gold strike, and that provided the best and oftentimes the only feasible means of transportation and communication, also seasonally threatened to transform the countryside into one vast sea of swirling water and floating debris, drowning sheep and cattle, smashing buildings to kindling wood, and driving settlers to rooftops and rowboats. The Delta was theirs to reap if they could keep it — but how to reclaim it from the mass of swampland and devastating flooding that seemed at times to threaten irreversible damage? Indeed their work was cut out for them.

Small wheelbarrow, or "shoestring" levees of riprap, inland soil, and tree branches, never more than

six feet high, were built with peat shovel, wheelbarrow, and backbreaking Chinese labor, offering little more than psychological comfort. They were no match for a raging river. To further complicate matters, state and local governments provided neither funds nor building specifications for the construction of levees and the task fell into the hands of the individual farmer. Levees up and down the river and along the backwaters reflected each landowner's dedication to and belief in the socially imposed flood control system — a completely piecemeal approach. Then too, levees were considered both a luxury and a foolhardy investment by many farmers who could not be assured of legal title to their property, as the state and federal governments continued their battle over ownership of the Delta lands far into the 1870s.⁶

Yet, by the late 1860s and into the early 1870s, established farms were flourishing and new farms and townships dotted the meandering river's edge. Due to a succession of drier winters which had caused a reduction in produce yields in the Central Valley and other areas of the state, the Delta benefited substantially by lowered water levels encouraging an increase in planting and levee construction, and Delta produce was in demand at premium prices throughout the state.

Then disaster struck. Beginning in 1871, and continuing for a full decade, annual flooding caused such damage to existing levees and surrounding farmlands that Delta farmers again began to seriously question if anything could hold back the terrifying floodwaters.

In addition to the levee's structural weaknesses, two major concerns surged to the forefront. Inevitably, every acre of land leveed resulted in a



CROFTON HOUSE

The property upon which this house stands was purchased in July of 1859 by John Crofton: 173.53 acres for \$130.74. Born in Belfast, Ireland, Crofton came to California in 1850 to mine for a time in Murphy's Camp, Calaveras County. Once settled on the river, he built a home in 1865.

Originally white clapboard with a gabled roof, the Crofton house has been remodeled several times – the shingles are a recent addition – but has remained in the family. It has been moved back a total of four times to accommodate the growth of the levees, the last move occurring around 1920, when it was raised for the addition of an exposed basement.

The domestic well, once topped by a windmill, held three redwood storage barrels for the fresh water that could be had by boring down eighty to one hundred feet through blue gravel and clay to the ancient riverbed. As recorded in the Sacramento Bee's, "Where California Fruits Grow," the only individual who couldn't make a go of it along the Sacramento River was the country doctor – the well water of the Delta area being so fresh and pure that common ailments like chills, fever, and malaria were scarce; a far-fetched story that in no way depreciates the fine quality of the water.



REYNOLDS HOUSE

*B*uilt just prior to the turn of the century, the Reynolds home belonged to A. T. J. Reynolds, a true southern gentleman who hailed from Kentucky. A. T. J. and his wife were known up and down the river for their fine dinner parties. A good-natured competition developed between the Reynolds and their neighbors across the river, the George Smiths, as to who could throw the grandest party. Mrs. Reynolds and Mrs. Smith challenged each other every year to an angel food cake bake-off for Eastern Star. Grandson George Smith recalls "When Mother was baking, if we slammed the door—we heard about it!" Mrs. Reynolds, when asked for a recipe, promised it sweetly but always left something out.

The Reynolds home was remodeled in the late teens by Christopher Mortenson, a contractor from Rio Vista who was also responsible for the construction of several other homes along the river.



DEAN HOUSE

***T**homas Webster Dean arrived on the river in the early 1860s and worked land in Sonoma and on Sutter Island until he could afford to buy his own seventy acre ranch in 1872. It was another twenty years before the present home was built – an adaptation of a home near Benecia that T. W. Dean had admired on his many trips down river to San Francisco.*

Built like a fortress, the Dean House has stood so firm that even when the waterforce from the old sternwheelers turning round pummeled the shore and shook the house, no more stress was produced beneath one area of the structure than any other. The T. W. Dean house has not settled over half an inch in eighty-six years.



LYDIA'S HOUSE

Constructed in 1872 by Nelson Bump, ranchowner and cousin of A. J. Bump, Freeport merchant and saloon keeper, the Bump house does not claim to be anything other than a farmhouse. "Lydia's house," as it is affectionately called, has the bold architectural styling of the Greek Revival period – a symmetrical simplicity that, true to A. J. Downing, shows "an absence of all pretension."

Built of fir and sheathed in redwood which the present caretaker now notes is "petrified," the home's white shiplap exterior literally glows. It was remodeled in 1920; the open railing on the porch was converted to shiplap, the back porch was enclosed, and a third chimney was added to the north side of the house when the two small downstairs rooms were opened into one through removal of a dividing wall.

one-acre shrinkage of flood plain necessary for excess river flow, and desperate measures — the dynamiting of levees up river to relieve the building pressure during heavy flooding — often found farmers out in force to protect their property from sabotage. Then too, by the early 1870s, the landowners were harassed with the new and growing problem of hydraulic mining. An increased flow of water combined with the silt and debris washed away in the feverish search for gold caused the channel level to rise, muddied the waters, and altered the shape and depth of the riverbed to such a degree that sandbars rose up practically overnight, reeking havoc by delaying produce shipment and rendering river waters virtually unnavigable for steamship traffic. The landowners were to do political battle with the mining industry for more than a decade before they were rewarded with an injunction in 1884.⁷ But the damage had been done.

Because of the endless labor, forbidding costs, and continuous rebuilding and enlarging of the levees that still could not contain the floodwaters, the farmers simply gave up, planting and harvesting what they could between floods. Then, in 1889, the first clamshell dredgers were employed to heighten and strengthen the levees. Though the farmers initially regarded the newfangled machinery with suspicion, they soon realized its value. The dredger was a barge with a long boom and large bucket that opened like a huge clamshell to drop down into the soft riverbottom, clamp shut, lift, and swing out over the levee where its contents were released and packed down. Because it removed land from the river side of the levee, it had the effect of both deepening the channels and increasing their size, as well as cutting the cost of

levee construction by more than half.⁸

Shortly after the main river levees were completed, a flood, its rate equal to one hundred Sacramento Rivers at normal flow, hit the Delta with a fury. The year was 1907 and residents rowed over orchards and wharfs to reach any safe landing and wait for steamboat rescue. All but Grand and Sutter Islands were completely submerged. Four years later, the California legislature was called by then Governor Hiram Johnson to approve the Sacramento Flood Control Plan. The special session demanded the joint efforts of the state and federal governments and private enterprise. In less than a decade, protected productive acreage in the Sacramento Valley would double from 300,000 acres in 1910 to 700,000 acres in 1918.⁹

The river had seemingly been tamed, its incredible force harnessed for a controlled run and inland irrigation, but those who settled beside it knew better than to think it conquered. They had come to accept the river as life-giving and life-threatening, linking them with yet isolating them from the world about them.

River transportation was to remain the only dependable method of travel between Sacramento and San Francisco into the early twentieth century. Shipbuilding had become a lucrative alternative for hard-luck miners skilled as shipwrights and carpenters and, with the great influx of humanity, a rapidly growing demand for passage between San Francisco and the gold fields brought the river to life almost overnight. As supply rose to meet demand, river traffic mushroomed. Before 1850 had come to a close, the river could boast an inland fleet of fifty steamers.¹⁰ Rate wars ensued, only the first of many, driving the price of a single fare in 1850 from \$30 to \$10, and within a year the price had dropped to a single dollar.¹¹ Ridiculously low fares and hot tempers combined to bring about a rakish hawking of transportation services along the wharves by San Francisco agents who touted rival shipping crews as



ROSEBUD FARM

*R*ather like a city lady, born and bred, who came to the country and decided to stay, Rosebud Farm typifies not only the type of architecture so popular in San Francisco during the late nineteenth century, but its influence on architectural adaptation by smaller, thriving communities, as well.

Built prior to 1870 for State Senator William Johnson, it boasts the classic lines of the Italianate High Victorian – Corinthian columns, angled bay windows, and arched door and window frames. Rosebud Farm was designed by architect Nathaniel Goodell, who also constructed plans for the Governor's Mansion in Sacramento. The grounds were designed by the landscape architect who was also responsible for Golden Gate Park in San Francisco.

Originally, the house held five imported European marble fireplaces and several marble sinks. In 1918, it was remodeled to add space, extending the rear of the house by adding on two bedrooms and enclosing the back porch. The Johnson family retained ownership until 1967, when the home was sold to artist Wayne Thiebaud. The present owners, members of the Sacramento Old City Association, are working to recapture the original atmosphere of the design.



GAMMON HOUSE

The Gammon farmhouse is a three-story home of frame construction, built around the turn of the century for \$7,000. Mrs. Drusella D. Cook Gammon, for whom the home was built, traveled across the plains on a wagon train from Michigan in 1850 and settled on the river ten years later, when she met and married Walter Gammon. After Walter was drowned in a riding accident, she and her children set about the task of planting trees back from the levee until their entire landholdings were in pear, peach, and cherry orchards.

The first home was built farther back, on a knoll that has since been leveled. There during the devastating flood of 1866-67, several neighbors farther down river took refuge on the second floor as livestock were herded below.

When the present home was built, every modern convenience was included: indoor plumbing, radiators, a basement heater, and an elevator. Designed for Mrs. Gammon, who was then confined to a wheelchair, it was operated by a system of weights, ropes, and pulleys. Grandson Earl Gammon, who at the time of construction was nearly six years old, recalls a houseful of carpenters from Sacramento and a long fall down the elevator shaft.

riffraff and competing river craft as scows. Intent upon attaining the fastest travel time, too many ships, crewmen, and passengers suffered through collisions both deliberate and accidental. Tragic boiler explosions sometimes occurred while racing from port to port to the thrill, and all too often, the horror of the crowds.¹²

On April Fool's Day, 1869, the Central Pacific Railroad purchased the California Steamship Navigation Company, formed fifteen years earlier through the combined efforts of leading steamship owners to insure more adequate control of traffic and transportation costs.¹³ Locals were up in arms over such a blatant monopolization of river travel. Opposition craft gave the company a run for its money, but C.P. had the upper hand, dropping the fare to a dime or cancelling it all together. Nor were they above paying passengers to travel their lines or to ship produce if the opposition had the wherewithall to give a good challenge. They also trimmed the fare to "two bits with dinner thrown in," making it cheaper to travel the river than to remain at home.¹⁴ No opposition steamship operator could do battle and win, but the fight brought excitement and entertainment to the river and its people.

Landowners soon recognized that such insanity merely resulted in nothing short of pandemonium with regards to shipping costs and delivery for their produce. By the late 1850s, many enterprising farmers built or purchased private schooners to freight their produce to urban markets.¹⁵ By 1864, farmers along the river almost exclusively employed the services of two sailing vessels, each making two round trips a week between Sacramento and San Francisco. Within three years, fruit farmers had

purchased the services of the 181-ton sternwheeler *Reform*, destined to become the core of the farmer-owned and operated California Transportation Company. A downstream trip along the Sacramento involved calling at sixty-five private weigh landings before the long leg to San Francisco could even begin, and the *Reform* always turned out laden with hundreds of splint boxes of peaches or other fruit, sacked potatoes, boxed tomatoes, and kegs of preserved melons. Fresh melons were also loaded on deck, thrown from man to man with an occasional disaster, to be stacked in ever-expanding piles.¹⁶

In addition to the big steamers that plied the deeper waterways, fruit launches traveled the river and its more shallow, slender tributaries. They sashayed from weigh landing to weigh landing, bound for market with boxes and splint baskets fashioned by the Chinese filled to the brim with fruits and vegetables. The containers were piled one on top of another until "before the journey was half complete the boats themselves resembled drifting garden baskets."¹⁷ Farmers and boatmen knew one another by first name, and each stop served to renew old acquaintances and draw progress reports on family members. The riverboat captain was revered by Delta children. Often, the crews sang heartily while loading the produce and bank dwellers joined in on the tune as they aided in the chore. The farmers were always assured their produce would have a gentle trip, arriving fresh and unbruised for market.

River travel remained an important communal link even after the Southern Pacific Railroad ran its connecting lines for produce shipment in 1912. This great umbilical cord continued to nourish the ground, transport its people and the fruits of their labors, and deliver goods and services so vital to an isolated community. Once river travel had shown itself to be a valuable commodity, two S.P. boats, the *Modoc* and the *Apache*, made stops at several Delta towns be-



EASTMAN HOUSE

Nellie Eastman is remembered fondly by neighbors up and down the river as the lady with a camellia named for her in Capital Park in Sacramento. She was one of the founding docents of the La Perita Garden Club of Courtland and Walnut Grove. Membership was limited and prospects were subject to careful scrutiny. "Someone had to die before you could get in." The ladies gathered once a month at one of their homes along the river to listen to speakers and discuss the beauty and pleasure of growing things. Each year the club took great pride in furnishing an exhibit on Delta flora for the county fair in Galt – "they worked like Trojans putting that up."

Her home, built for her in the 1880s by her husband Arthur Eastman, is a simple, typical farmhouse of white clapboard with green shutters and a running veranda, built over an exposed basement with entrance on the second floor to take into account the yearly flooding. The grounds, unkempt and overgrown, still slope down and away from the house with here and there a tree or shrub sorely in need of the delicate touch of Aunt Nellie's pruning shears. A fertile imagination can still transform the tangles and clumps into the garden she so dearly loved.



GEORGE GREENE HOUSE

*I*n 1871, Josiah Buckman Green brought a palm tree from San Francisco in a tea tin and planted it on the site of the George Greene home. Josiah's son George and Charles Crombie, a cabinet maker by trade, drew up a blueprint and constructed the home themselves from seasoned redwood brought down river from a northern sawmill.

After a time, the structure became known as the "Ding" place, a curious name until one understands that apparently George, needing a marker at the river's edge to signal steamboats and barges that would transport his produce to market, drove a piece of driftwood into the berm. The driftwood had at one time hung over a boarding house and only the last half of the sign remained. Perhaps folklore, perhaps not, but the name stuck.

Built in 1875, the house was raised eight feet in 1908 and a complete cement basement was added beneath at a cost of \$1400. A sturdy, well-built home, it never satisfied Mrs. Greene, who had hoped for a fine Victorian complete with bay windows and all the appointments.



SMITH HOUSE

***B**orn in 1831, George A. Smith emigrated from Germany to America and crossed the Isthmus of Panama on foot to settle on Grand Island in 1850. He came to farm, returning to Joliette in 1855 to marry Margaret Hale, whom he brought overland via Conestoga wagon to her new home. He continued to accumulate property and in 1877 took up residence here on "Diamond S" ranch.*

Apparently, the north half of the home, built by an Italian family, was standing when the Smiths took possession of the property and George Smith completed the structure in 1877-78 for \$2500. Situated on a high mound and built of redwood on a brick foundation with redwood flooring, it has never been moved and has had no major remodeling other than the addition of indoor plumbing in 1918.

The present Mrs. Smith recalls how, being a city girl at heart, she had no intention of moving to the country. But on a visit with her new husband she was cajoled into staying "one more week, one more week." That one more week extended to thirty-seven years. "I got the idea before then . . . it was a wonderful place to bring up the boys."



THE RIVER MANSION

Son of a German immigrant who arrived in California in 1857 by way of Ohio, Louis Myers did not live to see his mansion completed. His father, Henry William Myers, worked for \$45.00 a month on the 250 acre ranch he rented to eventually purchase it in 1865. He must have instilled in his son the importance of hard work and land ownership for it was Louis' dream that each of his six children have their own 100 acre parcel of land. He expanded his holdings too quickly, believing that the wealth he gleaned from the harvest of his crops would never be lost. But it was not to be.

The home, begun in 1918, was not completed for another five years. The original estimated cost was \$80,000. Upon completion, the widow Myers and architect J. W. Dolliver of San Francisco had realized a construction cost of \$340,000.

The Pacific Fruit Exchange foreclosed on the property shortly after the home was completed, and since that time this Classic Italian Villa, with over 50 rooms, a grand ballroom, tea rooms and formal dining room, bowling alley and servants quarters, has housed a collection of people and services, including wild birds and bindlestiffs.

tween San Francisco and Sacramento to deliver mail. While they also transported freight and customers, they quickly became known to Delta inhabitants as mailboats. Storeboats took orders and delivered goods, everything from candy to ice kegs and kerosene, while other steamboats docked at private weigh landings to deliver a special item, perhaps a baby grand piano. As Sacramento and Stockton remained "small town" into the early 1900s, shopping excursions to San Francisco were routine and often became a family outing, combining business, shopping, and pleasure.¹⁸

Ferryboats transported livestock and travelers from one side of the river or slough to the other and mishaps, tragic and comical, were not unusual. On occasion, cattle driven onboard and frightened by cramped quarters and unfamiliar surroundings, would break through the barrier and plunge into the river, swim ashore and scatter, leaving to those still aboard the laborious task of rounding them up. From time to time, a runaway horse would dash onboard and crash through the barrier, taking carriage and sometimes rider into the icy Sacramento.¹⁹

By the 1870s, those settlers who could afford the additional expense, chartered steamboats for everything from catered weddings and social affairs to funeral party transportation from the home of the deceased to cemeteries in Sacramento and Rio Vista. Rumor has it, a few riverboats operated as floating gambling establishments with "ladies" of questionable moral standing present to accompany the ship's guests to the tables and elsewhere. Other riverboats serenaded the settlers with sweet music as they moved slowly and gracefully up and down river. On a dare, mischievous river children would brave

churning water and parental reproach to capture a rowboat and ride the waves of a sternwheeler's wake, despite the captain's chagrined cry from the bridge, "Does your mother know you're out there?" Even an ocean liner might occasionally wend its way up river when the water level was high, to the delight and wonderment of riverbank dwellers.²⁰

Without question, the river had always offered the cheapest and the most convenient method of transportation and communication, and the number and diversity of services delivered to the landowner's doorstep grew with time. Though building at the river's edge proved a logical extension of river activity, early settlers faced the first and equally as logical drawbacks.

Early river traffic flourished in response to a very mobile society — everyone was either coming from or going to the gold fields. Seventy-five percent of the territory's population was engaged in the search for easy riches, with the intention of gathering up a fortune and promptly sailing for home port. Boom-town structures were slapped together with any available material in order to meet only the most immediate needs, and the urgency of the moment dictated the quality of the workmanship. Similarly, the labor force expanded and contracted in direct proportion to the level of activity in the gold fields, vanishing in an instant with the report of any new gold strike.

Literally left without the necessary manpower or materials for constructing a proper farmhouse, the Delta settlers turned to mail-ordering prefabricated structures from New England. Delivered unassembled with directions for construction, these simple, frame structures were shipped around the Horn to San Francisco and floated upriver where, with luck, a local carpenter or shipwright was employed in construction. Simple, white clapboard structures with green shutters, these first houses were the only link

with home, and they served their purpose well, even housing livestock on the first floor and frightened families on the second during the devastating floods.²¹

Originally built on natural knolls or Indian burial mounds to compensate for yearly episodes of flooding, both these and newer homes were put up on stilts and bulwarking. As soil was added to the land side of the levees for greater flood protection, homes were often moved back several feet and raised to have brick foundations built beneath them. Plans were adapted to provide for a main entrance on the second floor of homes built on the lower ground, and the first floor evolved into an exposed basement. A rowboat was always kept fastened securely to the back porch railing, for during floodtide family members were often restricted to coming and going by boat from second story windows.²²

Yet, with rich riverbottom land primed for a record crop production, an endless supply of cheap, dependable labor, and readily accessible river transportation for goods and services, building on the riverfront continued to be a most attractive and sensible idea, despite the seasonal promise of flood. Disenchanted with the search for gold, carpenters, shipwrights, architects and craftsmen returned to their crafts and the Delta landowners found the project of new home construction to be a pleasant venture. By the early 1890s, the Sacramento Valley had proven itself to be an agricultural goldmine and the *Sacramento Bee* published a special edition project, "Where California Fruits Grow" in 1895, expounding upon the Eden-like qualities of this incredibly fertile farmland and taking particular note of the fine homes along the Sacramento River.²³

Indeed, the landowners took great pride in their fine estates. Cradled in serenity with an uninterrupted view of the meandering river and neighboring farms, these fine new homes spread out boldly on perennially green lawns and were often surrounded by lemon, orange, fan palm, pepper, walnut, magnolia, sycamore, and eucalyptus trees. The grounds were groomed to perfection and ornamental roses, camellias, calla and tiger lillies; oleanders, pink fuschia, heliotrope, and a host of other blooms responded gloriously to the rich soil and mild climate.²⁴

While some copied designs of homes they had seen farther up or down river, landowners also found that architects' and builders' catalogs and pattern books offered a multitude of designs in floorplan and detail; millwork and other embellishments. Presumably, some of the carpenters they employed simply lifted entire homes from the pages, pirating designs and penciling in requested alterations. Following the Centennial Exposition of 1876, the Eastlake, Stick, Shingle, Queen Anne, and Italianate styles that filtered into California also found their way upriver and into the farming communities in the form of ornamental chimneys, bay windows, towers, braced gables, and a profusion of millwork and plaster mouldings and stained glass windows. They were true showplaces, reflecting for all who traveled the river or the river roads the pride and determination of those who challenged a river to settle and build.

By the 1920s, reclamation had adequately harnessed the river. Though this man-made design for flood protection had irreversibly altered the landscape, destroying the natural beauty of the tree-lined banks, the homes and the spirits of those who had built them rose above the levees. The river had demanded of the settlers that they scar their riverfront property with great mounds of earth to save their fields and orchards from yearly inundation. But many of the homes remain, a tribute to the tenacity

and determination of those who chose to settle along a river that wound its way through the land "like a bright tree of life."²⁵

The information used in the photograph captions was obtained from a variety of resources: *The Illustrated History of Sacramento County*, Thompson and West; *The History of the Sacramento Valley*, Vol. III, Joseph A. McGowan; *Historic Landmarks of the City and County of Sacramento*, Friends of the Sacramento City and County Museum; *History of Sacramento County 1913*, edited by William L. Willis; and *History of Sacramento County, 1923*, edited by G. Walter Reed. Informal interviews were also conducted with Aaron Gallup, staff architectural historian with the Preservation Department of the California State Department of Parks and Recreation, as well as numerous interviews with descendants and neighbors of the houses' original owners.

Notes

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21. Interviews with local residents, January, February, 1979.
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Between Two Cultures:



Inaugurated in 1863 as California's first four-year governor, Frederick F. Low was later appointed as U.S. minister to China in 1869

Frederick Ferdinand Low, former governor of California, had been in Peking only two months as the new United States diplomatic representative to the Chinese government when a Chinese mob at Tientsin killed the French consul, ten Roman Catholic nuns, and ten other foreigners. The Tientsin massacre of June 21, 1870, bared the reality of the mutual hostility between China and the West in its most antagonistic terms. The basic problem of reconciling the Eastern and Western civilizations almost overwhelmed Low and his diplomatic colleagues — both Western and Chinese. Low encountered the same problem the next year when he went to Korea in an attempt to establish treaty relations with China's neighbor. The mission ended in an armed clash and without a treaty. In August, 1873, after participating in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western envoys, Low left China. The Californian had served his nation in a difficult role during a critical period in the formative years of U.S.-China relations. His experiences considerably diminished his originally optimistic belief in the peaceful resolution of differences between China and the West.

When President Ulysses S. Grant appointed Low as United States minister plenipotentiary to China in 1869, the Californian had already distinguished himself as a businessman and political leader. Low was born in New England and as a teenager served a five-year apprenticeship with the Boston firm of Russell, Sturgis, and Company, one of the leading American commercial houses involved in the China trade. In 1849 the lure of gold in California prompted him to go West to seek his fortune. He arrived in San Francisco a few days before his twenty-first birthday. Like thousands of other forty-niners, he never had

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Frederick F. Low In China

much luck as a miner, but he quickly realized the potential business opportunities in a booming place like gold-rush California. After a brief partnership in a general merchandise store in San Francisco, he moved to Marysville. There, with his two brothers, he formed a successful mercantile and shipping business, and later became a partner in the California Steam Navigation Company and in a Marysville bank.¹

In 1861 as the nation was plunging into the Civil War, Low moved back to San Francisco as a prosperous entrepreneur and to his surprise received the Republican nomination for California's newly created third seat in Congress. Although he had not sought the position, in the fall of that year he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. He served one term in Washington but did not seek re-nomination. Low looked forward to returning to his business pursuits in 1863 but found himself unable to refuse an appointment by President Abraham Lincoln as the collector of the Port of San Francisco. His loyal service to the Union cause, both as collector and as a member of Congress, made him a popular favorite among many of California's pro-Union politicians. In June, 1863, his supporters successfully secured his nomination as Unionist (Republican) candidate for governor — defeating two more well-known leaders, incumbent Governor Leland Stanford and Congressman Aaron A. Sargent. In the general election Low outdistanced John G. Downey, the Democratic nominee, by over 20,000 votes.²

Inaugurated on December 10, 1863, as his state's first four-year governor, Low continued during his term in Sacramento to be a faithful supporter of the Northern war effort and the Republican party. Under his leadership California supplied all of the volunteers and financial support for the war that Lincoln's government requested from the state. When the war ended, he endorsed the Congressional



Prince Kung, as head of the Tsungli Yamen or foreign office, was the principal Chinese with whom Low negotiated in the early 1870s.

*The Chinese, of course, approved
of the apparent change in
Western methods represented by the
cooperative policy . . .*

plan of Reconstruction. In December, 1867, one of his last official acts as governor was to recommend to the state legislature that it ratify the Fourteenth Amendment, which provided the constitutional authority for the Congressional Reconstruction program. Low remained outspoken in his support of the Republican majority in Congress and publicly expressed approval of the impeachment proceedings against President Andrew Johnson in 1868.³

Governor Low had proved to be an honest and even courageous chief executive. Not only did he unhesitatingly voice his own convictions on national issues, he even more fearlessly challenged the widespread anti-Chinese prejudice in California by criticizing state laws that discriminated against Orientals. In a January, 1867, speech he pleaded with his San Francisco audience: "We must learn to treat the Chinese who come to live among us decently, and not oppress them by unfriendly legislation, nor allow them to be abused, robbed, and murdered, without extending to them any adequate remedy."⁴ His businessman's perception of a potential market in China for American goods undoubtedly colored his view of the Chinese, but still his sentiments were remarkably enlightened for his times. Indeed, in 1869, two years after he left the governor's office, Low's publicly expressed sympathy for the Chinese and his Republican loyalty made him Secretary of State Hamilton Fish's choice for the post of United States minister to China.⁵

In the decade preceding Low's diplomatic appointment, there had been significant disagreement over the best method of conducting relations with the imperial Chinese government. Anson Burlingame had arrived in Peking in 1862 as the first American minister to reside in the Chinese capital. Along with his diplomatic colleagues from Britain, France, and Russia, Burlingame had developed a system known as the cooperative policy. It was an attempt to protect Western interests in trade and missionary activity in China through cooperation among the foreign representatives and the Chinese government. By including the Emperor's government, this policy was essentially conciliatory toward the ruling dynasty. It contrasted sharply with previous Western practices toward China. For many centuries China had been the Middle Kingdom — the center of a highly advanced East Asian civilization that was geographically and culturally isolated from the West. In the two decades before 1860, Britain and France had used naval and military force to coerce Chinese officials into allowing European and American commercial, religious, and diplomatic activity in the Middle Kingdom.

The Chinese, of course, approved of the apparent change in Western methods represented by the cooperative policy, and in 1867 they honored Burlingame by naming him their first official envoy to represent them in the Western capitals. Burlingame's replacement as American minister in Peking, however, was a man who did not share his predecessor's enthusiasm for cooperation with the Chinese. The new U.S. representative was J. Ross Browne, a widely traveled San Francisco author who had held numerous government posts. Arriving in the Chinese capital in September, 1868, Browne soon concluded that China's civilization was almost totally irreconcilable with that of the West and that Burlingame's conciliatory policy was completely

impractical. In his opinion only a return to a more forceful, even menacing, policy toward the Middle Kingdom could overcome continuing Oriental hostility and resistance toward the West. Because he disagreed with Burlingame's approach, which he believed that the State Department continued to favor, he resigned his post after less than a year in Peking.⁶

Low had not sought the position as Browne's replacement in Peking. In fact, the former governor and congressman had always considered himself a businessman, not a politician. He was too independent and outspoken to feel comfortable in public life. It was precisely his frank defense of Chinese rights in California, however, that made Washington believe that, despite his lack of diplomatic experience, he was the best man to continue Burlingame's cooperative policy in China. In October, 1869, Low reluctantly put aside the management of his business interests in San Francisco and accepted his commission as the new United States minister plenipotentiary in China. He arrived at the small American legation building in Peking on April 19, 1870, and assumed the duties of his office the following day.⁷

The new minister's first impressions of the state of relations between the Chinese and the Westerners in China reconfirmed his earlier opinions formed in California that fairmindedness and friendship would be the most effective approach toward the Orientals. In one of his first reports from Peking in May to Secretary of State Fish, Low advised:

It will require time and patience to work changes in the existing order of things by peaceful means. No one agency will be likely to do so much towards enlightenment, as a prelude to progress, as personal contacts, intercourse and discussion between the representatives of Western nations resident in China and the Chinese officials.⁸

The former governor appeared to be a worthy heir to Burlingame's cooperative diplomacy.

*Low complained directly to the
Tsungli Yamen about its dilatory
and irresolute handling of the
Tientsin affair . . .*

The Tientsin massacre of June 21, 1870, quickly tested Low's commitment to the principle of peaceful cooperation with the Chinese government. While other foreigners, particularly missionaries, panicked from fear of imminent anti-foreign uprisings throughout China, the new American minister viewed the situation more cautiously. He abhorred and condemned the carnage and destruction caused by the Chinese mob but believed that the French officials and missionaries who were attacked in Tientsin had largely determined their own fate. The center of contention had been the Roman Catholic orphanage at Tientsin operated by the Sisters of Charity. Low felt "entirely certain that the people who brought children to the Sisters' Establishment were rewarded pecuniarily."⁹ Such activities sparked rumors that the orphanage was buying children for diabolical purposes, such as the making of soap and medicines from their organs. The French consul in Tientsin had done nothing to allay popular suspicions and, in fact, had fired his pistol into a crowd that came to the mission demanding to know exactly what went on inside. The mob then literally tore the consul to pieces, brutally killed twenty other foreigners, and destroyed the mission property.¹⁰

Although no Americans were killed at Tientsin, Low took part in a joint foreign demand to the Chinese foreign office (the Tsungli Yamen) for punishment of the murderers and for measures to prevent other such occurrences. He warily avoided,

however, specific demands for redress. The American minister maintained a public facade of cooperation with his French colleague, but privately he sent Washington a stream of sharp criticisms of French diplomacy.¹¹

Following the massacre, war between France and China appeared imminent and probably would have occurred, if the Franco-Prussian War had not preempted the attention of Paris. Low placed total blame on Count Rochechouart, the French chargé d'affairs in Peking, for raising the specter of war in China. Initially Rochechouart simply joined with the other foreign representatives in their communications with the Tsungli Yamen. After going to Tientsin for a personal inspection, however, the chargé arbitrarily declared two local Chinese officials guilty and demanded their immediate decapitation. He threatened to turn the matter over to the admiral of the French fleet in the Pacific if the Chinese authorities did not comply.¹²

Low believed that Rochechouart had made a serious blunder. The Chinese refused to summarily execute the officials, and the French admiral, uncertain of his country's strategy toward Prussia, would not commit his forces against the Chinese without orders from Paris. The French chargé had first impugned China's sovereignty and then had been unable to carry out his threat. According to Low, such conduct jeopardized the welfare of every foreigner in China. In the absence of French naval pressure, weeks passed without any action by the imperial government. The Chinese people would misinterpret Peking's inaction, Low feared, and think that their government condoned the massacre. The result would be more bloodshed, and the responsibility for it would rest squarely on Rochechouart. This dangerous situation could have been prevented, in Low's opinion, if the French chargé had remained united with his colleagues in addressing the Tsungli Yamen. The

American thought that by cooperating the foreign representatives could have prompted the imperial Chinese government to settle the case. Low understood that cooperation could be both with and against the Chinese government and that "M. Rochechouart's isolated and infirm policy" had been neither.¹³

Although Low complained directly to the Tsungli Yamen about its dilatory and irresolute handling of the Tientsin affair, he understood the government's difficult position. The foreign office had to satisfy both the Western representatives in Peking and the Emperor's xenophobic advisors, who believed that the French had gotten what they deserved. Low was convinced that the disturbance at Tientsin had been a local affair, but the minister feared that Peking's silence would invite more anti-foreign outbreaks. Low urged the Tsungli Yamen to deny officially the rumors that the nuns kidnapped children and committed other evil deeds. He also pointed out the need for prompt prosecution of those actually guilty of the attack. To Washington he reported that such action would not be easy. Low noted that since the English government, for example, could not ascertain and punish Irish rioters, it was not surprising that the feeble Chinese government was having difficulty in Tientsin.¹⁴

Although he understood the imperial government's limitations, Low did not hesitate to send a strong note to the Tsungli Yamen in September, 1870, when fear of local hostility caused American missionaries to flee from their homes in Shantung province. He laid heavy blame on Peking for not taking forceful action. The imperial government's lack of "courage and resolution" following the Tientsin massacre contributed, in his opinion, to the unsettled situation throughout north China.¹⁵

The Tsungli Yamen's final settlement of the Tientsin massacre dissatisfied both Low and



Expansive courtyards encircled by hundreds of graceful and elegant buildings with gold tile roofs characterize the Imperial Palace in Peking – also known as the Forbidden City. It was here that Low participated in the first audience granted by an Emperor of China to Western diplomats.



Although Low was not confident about the prospects for peace in China, he did not believe that force had to be used.

Rochechouart but for different reasons. The Chinese government executed twenty people, exiled twenty-five, and only temporarily suspended the two local officials at Tientsin whom Rochechouart considered the leaders of the riot. In addition, China paid France a sizable indemnity and sent an imperial envoy to Paris to apologize to the French government. From the French representative's point of view, the Tsungli Yamen had not adequately punished all of the guilty parties, and the death and destruction had not been avenged. The outcome set a precedent, according to French historian Henri Cordier, that emasculated French policy in China for the rest of the century.¹⁶ Low felt, however, that the Chinese government, not French policy, had been emasculated. He believed that the Tsungli Yamen had done too little too late and thereby weakened its position relative to both its own subordinate officials and the foreign legations. Low described his own reaction to the Sino-French confrontation as one of "leniency" toward the Tsungli Yamen.¹⁷

In reporting on the Tientsin incident to Washington, Low characterized Rochechouart as "ambitious and unscrupulous, even for a Frenchman. His actions are controlled entirely by passion, prejudice, and personal ambition."¹⁸ In Low's estimation the French representative's conduct exhibited "in a clear light the petty jealousies which prevent the carrying out in good faith of what is popularly known as the cooperative policy."¹⁹ He accused the chargé of at-

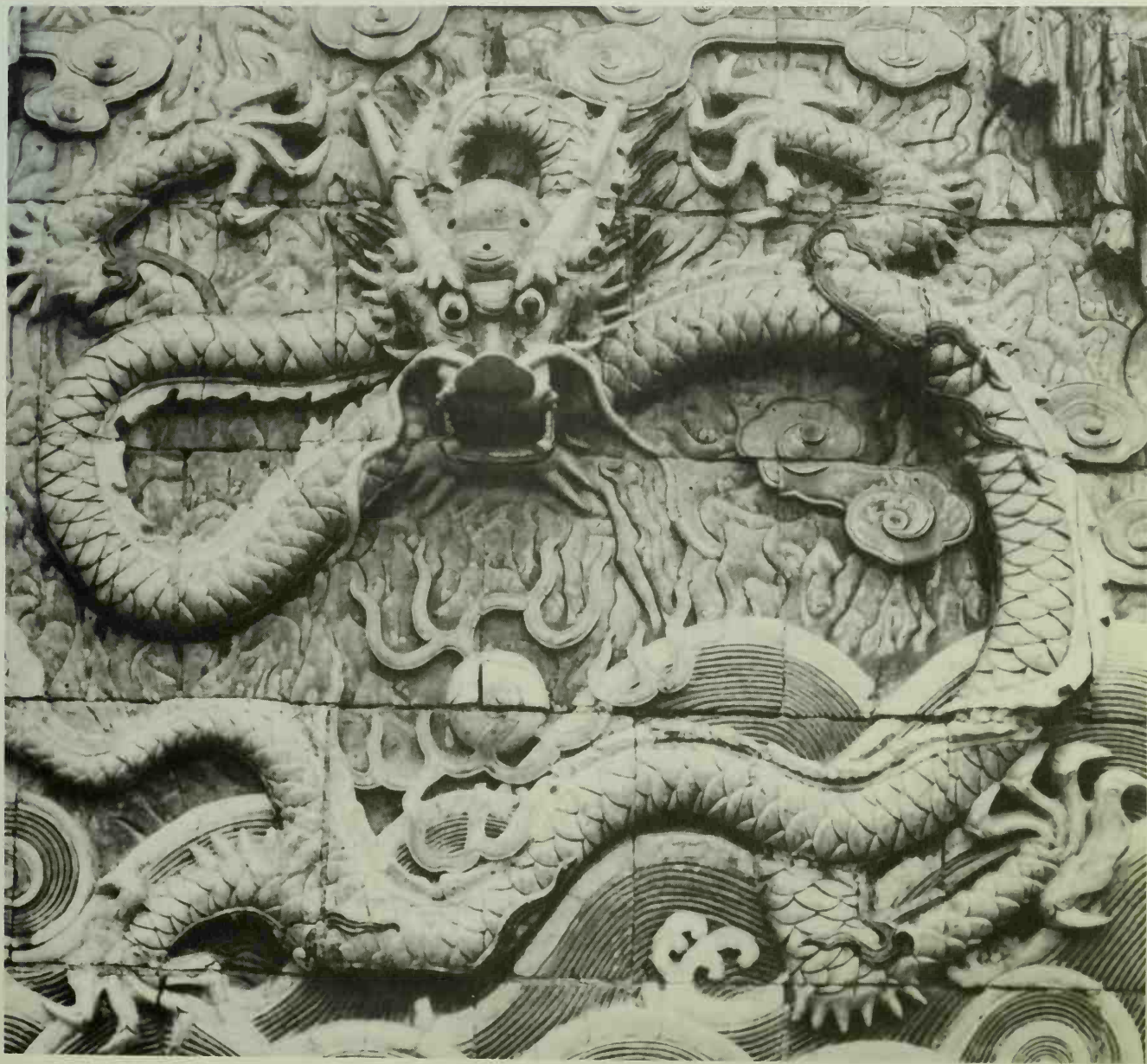
tempting to dictate to the Chinese and to the other treaty powers and of trying to discredit American counsels of forbearance. Low believed that both he and his predecessor Burlingame had always tried to be just to everyone. In the case of damage claims, for instance, Low explained that he followed Burlingame's example of seeking payment equivalent to the value of the actual losses and of never allowing any money to pass through the American legation or consulates.

Rochechouart, on the other hand, presented claims for 400 percent of the value of the losses at Tientsin and had this amount paid directly to him. Low did not know how much of this money actually went to the claimants, but the Roman Catholic Bishop of Peking told him that "the Tientsin riot was a good financial operation for the representative of France. And what makes the matter worse the Chinese hear and repeat the same stories."²⁰ Recalling other incidents, Low contended that the French had always been so eager to get a pecuniary compensation when a missionary was murdered that the Chinese now considered such events a mere monetary transaction. From the Chinese point of view it was money well spent. Low concluded that Rochechouart's actions simply represented the latest step in the long history of French "force and fraud" in China. Low proposed a different approach:

Let foreigners conduct themselves properly towards this people . . . Our progress may, and undoubtedly will be, slow; but it will be more sure and perhaps more advantageous to both foreigner and native than a greater nominal progress forced by wars and bloodshed.²¹

Although Low was not confident about the prospects for peace in China, he did not believe that force had to be used. He dismissed the conflicting-civilizations thesis of "irrepressible conflict," which Browne and the Western merchants in China advo-

The five-clawed dragon, a decorative motif throughout the Imperial Palace, was the symbol of the Emperor, the Son of Heaven who ruled all under heaven.





cated. Low classified the Chinese as a superior, although pagan, people who exhibited great “mental capacity, industry, and administrative power.” He maintained that the Chinese were not like the African Negroes or American Indians, and he charged that foreigners were wrong to believe that “a Chinaman has no rights that a white man is bound to respect.” The Chinese may have been ignorant of the West, Low observed, but the Westerners were equally ignorant of China. Like Burlingame before him, Low concluded that in dealing with China foreign nations “should pursue a just and firm course, and at the same time be prepared to exercise patience and forbearance.”²² The Tientsin massacre had not convinced him of the need for abandoning peaceful cooperation in favor of a forceful policy in Asia.²³

The turning point in Low’s own diplomacy came

in Korea the following year. The Hermit Kingdom increasingly attracted the attention of Westerners after the late 1850s because of the growing number of trading vessels in the waters between China and Japan. As more ships moved along the coast of the peninsula, frequent shipwrecks and the possibility of trade with Korea evoked the notice of Western officials. The Korean government, however, refused all contact with foreign governments. When Koreans presumably murdered the crew of the wrecked American ship *General Sherman* in 1866, Secretary of State William H. Seward wanted the United States and France to mount a joint military expedition to force Korea both to allow trade and to protect foreign seamen. Paris rejected Seward’s suggestion, but American officials continued to desire a settlement of the *General Sherman* case and to seek an

The U.S.S. Monocacy, part of Rear Admiral John Rodgers' Asiatic Squadron, participated in the naval bombardment that destroyed five Korean forts during Low's mission to Korea in 1871.

opportunity to "open" Korea. With these objectives in mind, Secretary of State Fish included U.S. relations with Korea in Low's responsibilities as minister to China.²⁴

On the day Low assumed his duties in Peking, Fish sent the new minister authorization and instructions to negotiate a treaty with Korea to secure "commercial advantages" and protection of shipwrecked Americans. Fish made arrangements with the Navy Department for Low to go to Korea with five warships under the command of Rear Admiral John Rodgers, commander-in-chief of the Asiatic Squadron. The secretary of state hoped that the Koreans, faced with a show of force, would negotiate as the Japanese had done in 1854 when Commodore Matthew Perry had steamed into Tokyo Bay with an American flotilla. Fish instructed Low to "exercise prudence and discretion" and to avoid using the warships as long as possible without "dishonor." The secretary knew that there were risks involved in the mission but never seemed to consider the possibility of failure and the effects of such a setback on America's limited and peaceful goals in Asia.²⁵

After receiving his instructions Low told Fish that he was "not sanguine of favorable results" in Korea but that he would make every effort to accomplish the mission. He noted that Germany and France had failed recently in similar efforts. Low reported that although Korea was a "tributary kingdom" of China (indicating a theoretical Chinese suzerainty), Peking had declared Seoul independent in its foreign relations. The Tsungli Yamen wanted no complications with foreign powers over Korea. Low knew very little about Korea, but he expected the Koreans to resist negotiations by "cunning and sophistry" and by force if necessary. He hoped for peaceful discussions but advised Washington:

It is a mistaken policy when dealing with oriental governments and peoples to allow insults and injuries to go unre-

dressed. Such lenity leads them to believe that fear alone prevents retaliation, and adds to their arrogance, conceit, and hostility.²⁶

Although he knew that his mission exposed the United States to almost certain insult and injury, Low proceeded to Korea without protesting to Washington that the whole effort might backfire.²⁷

Arriving on May 30, 1871, at the mouth of the river leading to Seoul, Low and Admiral Rodgers discovered that only their two smallest vessels could proceed further. The two small gunboats, hardly an intimidating force, went forward to survey the channel and were fired upon by forts guarding the river. The Americans returned the fire and withdrew. Meanwhile, back on the admiral's flagship the *Colorado*, Low had been able to contact only a few minor local officials. He also talked with some Koreans who claimed to be Christians and told him that the crew of the *General Sherman* had definitely been murdered. These events convinced Low more than ever that the Korean government would resist all contacts, but he did not want the Chinese and Koreans to think that the United States and the West were weak. He and Rodgers therefore decided that they must respond to the "unprovoked" attack on the two gunboats. Low doubted that a counterattack by Rodgers' forces would induce the Koreans to negotiate, but he was no longer concerned about a treaty. He only wanted to salvage the honor of the United States that lack of American foresight had jeopardized. Thinking of the *General Sherman* and the gunboats, Low wondered "whether the statements of this semi-barbarous and hostile people shall be received without question in justification of their acts of robbery and murder, committed upon the property and people of the United States."²⁸ Low sounded like Rochechouart at Tientsin.²⁹

Low and Rodgers gave the Korean government ten days either to apologize for opening hostilities or

to offer to begin negotiations. When the Koreans refused to do either, Rodgers' forces completely destroyed five forts that had fired on the gunboats and killed about 250 Koreans in the battle. Twelve Americans were killed or wounded in this clash, which was the U.S. Navy's largest involvement in hostile action between the Civil War and the Spanish-American War. In attempting to justify the use of force, Low told Fish that Oriental governments did everything possible to maintain the fiction of their superiority over foreigners, such as refusing to negotiate or sending only minor officials to meet foreign envoys. "My own observation and experience, as well as the experience of others," he explained to the State Department, "convinced me that concession on these points would lower my position, lessen my influence, and thus render the task more difficult; I therefore determined to adopt a firm and dignified policy"³⁰ After the American attack, however, the local Korean officials refused to send any further American communications to Seoul. Low concluded that

. . . the recent demonstration, which would have produced a profound impression upon any other government, has little or no effect, favorable or otherwise, upon this [government, which] . . . shows no sign . . . that there is any change in its attitude of defiance to all other nations.³¹

Low's frustration was readily apparent.³²

The mission had proved to be a diplomatic disaster. Low and Rodgers had expected the Koreans, faced by an intimidating force, to negotiate as the Japanese had done with Perry. Korea, however, was not Japan. When the Americans departed from the peninsula with several of their men and scores of Koreans dead, the United States had neither a treaty nor a settlement of the *General Sherman* case. In addition, the episode had a negative impact on Sino-American relations. The American failure recon-

firmed the opinion of many Chinese officials that the United States was as blustering and inept as the other Western nations. Many of the mandarins became even more recalcitrant toward the foreigners. Low's frustrating experience greatly disillusioned him about the prospects for peaceful and cooperative Sino-Western relations in the future.³³

In his final report to Washington on the Korean misadventure, Low admitted the complete failure of the expedition. He primarily blamed Korean recalcitrance for his lack of success. In defense of his decision to attack the Koreans he argued that Peking had paid close attention to the entire operation and that any evidence of pusillanimity on the part of the United States would have strengthened anti-foreign sentiment in the Middle Kingdom. Low predicted that China would never fully respect foreign governments as long as Korea successfully resisted Western advances. Low's recommendation following his Korean experience sounded quite different from his earlier views:

And every year that the Korean government is allowed to continue in its exclusiveness, increases the peril to the lives and property of foreign residents in China. If no adequate measures be taken to avert the impending storm in the East, the result will, I fear, be disastrous.³⁴

Faced with a decision in Korea Low underwent a transformation. He had always believed in the need for firmness in diplomacy and had criticized Rochechouart for threatening and then doing nothing at Tientsin. His previous counsels of patience and forbearance disappeared, however, in Korea. He did not return to China as a gunboat diplomatist. He continued to act cautiously in administering his responsibilities, but he became much less hopeful of a peaceful resolution of East-West differences. Low went to China believing as Burlingame had that the two civilizations were compatible. After the Korean

*"If no adequate measures be taken
to avert the impending storm in
the East, the result will, I fear,
be disastrous."*

FREDERICK F. LOW

mission Low increasingly adopted Browne's view of the great gulf between the cultures.

No single issue demonstrated more dramatically the differences between China and the West than did the Western diplomats' demand for an audience before the Emperor. The Chinese had always viewed the world as a hierarchy with the Emperor at the top and the sovereigns of all other countries arranged below as subordinates. The Westerners maintained in accordance with their own tradition that the world consisted of equally sovereign nations. Although foreigners had frequently neglected to respect China as an equal, they had insisted that the Emperor agree to receive the envoys from the West without the three kneelings and nine prostrations of the kowtow ceremony. The Chinese had just as stubbornly refused to abandon this ritual that symbolized the inferiority of all men to the Emperor. Finally on June 29, 1873, with Low representing the United States, the T'ung-chih Emperor granted the first audience ever held by a Chinese Emperor for Western diplomatic representatives. A few days earlier the Emperor also had received envoys from Korea, a tribute-paying state. The Koreans performed the kowtow and the Westerners did not, but the dynastic records termed all of them *shih-ch'en* (tributary envoys).³⁵

The working out of the details of the audience had required long and arduous haggling between the Tsungli Yamen and the Western legations. Even after

the Emperor agreed to dispense with the kowtow ritual as a gesture of his benevolence, his advisors insisted that other symbolic indications of his superiority be observed. The diplomats, however, remained strongly opposed to any procedures that might suggest the vassalage or inferiority of their countries. The ceremony to which all parties finally agreed was very simple. Low and his colleagues from Russia, France, Britain, Holland, and Japan were escorted to the Imperial Palace shortly after 6:00 a.m. After a wait of about three hours they were summoned to the Imperial presence in the Pavilion of Imperial Light. Each minister bowed three times while placing his credentials on a table ten to twelve paces from the Emperor's raised throne. With the foreigners standing, Prince Kung, the head of the Tsungli Yamen, dropped to his knees before the throne and conversed briefly with the sovereign. The Prince then rose and walked down the steps from the throne. He conveyed to the diplomats the Emperor's greetings and his acceptance of their letters of credence. The audience for the six foreign representatives lasted a little more than five minutes.³⁶

Although Low later termed the occasion a "new departure" in Sino-Western relations, he had approached the diplomatic ceremony displaying the same disillusionment that followed his Korean experience. He doubted that the audience concession would prove to be a "panacea" for cultural accommodation but argued that failure to insist on it would "confirm the high [Chinese] officials in their arrogance and conceit which will be damaging to foreign interests and lead to interruption of friendly relations at no distant day."³⁷ Low understood that the audience question assaulted the Chinese belief in the Emperor as the Son of Heaven but asserted that the ministers were duty-bound to press the issue in the interests of peace as well as foreign dignity. "Until the native mind can be freed from the belief that all

The Palace of Heavenly Purity is one of the most elaborate of the many audience halls in the Imperial Palace in Peking.



'outside states' are inferior," he concluded, "there can be no real relations of peace and amity between China and western nations."³⁸

Immediately after the audience Low returned to California on a long-desired leave of absence. He had requested the leave almost a year earlier in order to return home to attend to his personal affairs, which

had suffered greatly while he was in China. After he was back in San Francisco, he submitted his resignation from his diplomatic post. Fish accepted his resignation on April 9, 1874, and thus ended the government career of Frederick Low.³⁹

Low had never intended to make government service his profession and was happy to be back in the

familiar surroundings of the California business community. He quickly accepted a managerial position with the Anglo-California Bank and remained with that institution for twenty years. Under his direction the bank trailed only the Bank of California in the volume of its business within the state. Low was also successfully involved in a street railway, Hawaiian sugar plantations, lumber properties, and other enterprises. Although content to be out of government, Low maintained an interest in China. In 1880 he met with James B. Angell, when Angell passed through San Francisco on his way to Peking to negotiate the treaty that ultimately limited Chinese immigration to the United States. Recalling his own experiences, Low advised Angell that the chances for a successful treaty mission in China were doubtful.⁴⁰

Low possessed the pragmatism and common sense that one would expect to find in a successful businessman. His public service spanned slightly more than a decade out of what was otherwise a long career in private enterprise. He had entered the government in 1861 somewhat reluctantly and only in response to a popular call to duty at a time when the nation was gripped by the crisis of a civil war. When the war ended, he had expected to return to his business pursuits but instead found himself once again pressed into official service — this time in far away China. Although not experienced in diplomacy, he was practical enough to realize that a barrier of suspicion and hostility separated the Chinese and Westerners. The Tientsin massacre graphically displayed this antagonism shortly after his arrival. The bloody events at Tientsin, however, did not shake his own personal belief that conciliatory means could be found to reconcile the differences between Orientals and Occidentals. His hopes for peaceful relations foundered when the ill-conceived mission to Korea in 1871 ended in armed conflict. Even his unprecedented audience before the Emperor of China

did not reassure him. Low was not a gunboat diplomat who advocated the use of force as the basis of Western policies in China, but his own experiences led him to predict accurately that hostility and violence, not cooperation, would continue for some time to plague relations between Chinese and Westerners.

The portrait of Low on page 240 is from the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Prince Kung's photograph is a copy of one taken by John Thomson around 1870. It has been published in Clark Worswick and Jonathan Spence, *Imperial China: Photographs 1850-1912* (Pennwick Publishing, Inc., 1978), p. 20, which identifies the source as Samuel Wagstaff Collection, New York; and in L. Carrington Goodrich and Nigel Cameron, *The Face of China As Seen by Photographers & Travelers, 1860-1912* (Aperture, Inc., 1978), p. 21, which identifies the source as Stuart Collection, Rare Book Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation. The photograph of the U.S.S. *Monocacy* is a copy of one taken around 1870 by an unknown photographer and has been published in Goodrich and Cameron, *The Face of China*, p. 100, which identifies the source as Naval Historical Center, Washington, D.C., U.S. Navy, Collection of Rear Admiral Ammen C. Farenholt, N.S.N. (M.C.). All other photographs were taken by the author in Peking in 1977.

Notes

1. H. Brett Melendy and Benjamin F. Gilbert, *The Governors of California: Peter H. Burnett to Edmund G. Brown* (Georgetown, Calif., 1965), pp. 129-30; Eli T. Sheppard, "Frederick Ferdinand Low, Ninth Governor of California," *University of California Chronicle*, 19 (April, 1917):116-25, 133-40.
2. Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 130-31; Sheppard, "Low," 140-42; Leo P. Kibby, "Union Loyalty of California's Civil War Governors," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 44 (December, 1965):318; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1890), 7:303-04.
3. Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 133-38; Kibby, "Union Loyalty," 319; Joseph Ellison, *California and the Nation 1850-1869* (Berkeley, 1927), pp. 204-07; Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1897), 4:366-75, 405.
4. Quoted in Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 133.
5. *Ibid.*, 137; Sheppard, "Low," 126; Hittell, *History of California*, 4:404.

6. David L. Anderson, "Anson Burlingame: American Architect of the Cooperative Policy in China, 1861-1871," *Diplomatic History*, 1 (Summer, 1977):239-55; Lois Rather, *J. Ross Browne, Adventurer* (Oakland, 1978), pp. 71-80.
7. Sheppard, "Low," 113-14; Low to Fish, October 8, 1869, Despatches from United States Ministers to China, National Archives (Hereafter cited as China Despatches); China Despatches, Low to Fish, April 20, 1870.
8. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 10, 1870.
9. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, July 27, 1870.
10. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 27, 1870. Over two years later Low sent the State Department a copy of the "Annals of the Society of the Holy Childhood," which he identified as the organization that sponsored "Romish" orphanages in China. The document solicited money for the purchase of children in order that they could be baptised. It stated, for example, that "with every half crown that is sent to China one infant can be bought." Low commented: "That children are purchased for these orphanages there can, I think, be no longer any question." *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, November 20, 1872. For a summary account of the Tientsin massacre and a discussion of anti-foreignism in China see Paul Cohen, *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Anti-foreignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), pp. 229-73.
11. China Despatches, Low to Fish, private and confidential, November 24, 1870.
12. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, private and confidential, July 27, 1870.
13. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, August 22, 1870.
14. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, August 24, 1870.
15. *Ibid.*, Low to Davis, private, January 10, 1871; Low to Fish, September 17, 1870; Low to Fish, September 26, 1870.
16. Henri Cordier, *Histoire des Relations de la Chine avec des Puissances Occidentales 1860-1900* (Paris, 1901-02), 1:386-90.
17. China Despatches, Low to Fish, September 28, 1870; Low to Fish, October 25, 1870; Cordier, *Histoire*, 1:383-86.
18. China Despatches, Low to Fish, private and confidential, July 27, 1870.
19. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, confidential, February 20, 1871.
20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, January 10, 1871.
23. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, January 10, 1871; Low to Davis, private, January 10, 1871. See also Paul H. Clyde, "Frederick F. Low and the Tientsin Massacre," *Pacific Historical Review*, 2 (March, 1933):100-08.
24. Tyler Dennett, "Seward's Far Eastern Policy," *American Historical Review*, 28 (1922):45-62.
25. Fish to Low, April 20, 1870, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State, China, National Archives (hereafter cited as China Instructions); Fish to Secretary of the Navy George M. Robeson, April 4, 1870, U.S., Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1870* (Washington, 1870), pp. 331-33.
26. China Despatches, Low to Fish, May 13, 1871.
27. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, July 16, 1870; Low to Fish, November 22, 1870; Low to Fish, April 3, 1871; Low to Fish, May 13, 1871.
28. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 15, 1871.
29. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 31, 1871; Low to Fish, June 2, 1871; Low to Fish, June 15, 1871.
30. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, June 20, 1871.
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. For critical evaluations of the mission see Tyler Dennett, *Americans in Eastern Asia* (New York, 1922), p. 453; John W. Foster, *American Diplomacy in the Orient* (Boston, 1903), pp. 313-17. For an account more favorable to Low see Sheppard, "Low," 146-48. See also James A. Field, Jr., *History of United States Naval Operations: Korea* (Washington, 1962), pp. 1-4.
34. China Despatches, Low to Fish, July 6, 1871. Admiral Rodgers' account of the mission and its results essentially corresponds with that of Low. See Charles O. Paullin, *Diplomatic Negotiations of American Naval Officers 1778-1883* (Baltimore, 1912), pp. 287-91.
35. John K. Fairbank, "The Early Treaty System in the Chinese World Order," in John K. Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), pp. 260-63.
36. *Ibid.*; Tseng-tsai Wang, "The Audience Question: Foreign Representatives and the Emperor of China, 1858-1873," *Historical Journal*, 14 (1971):623-26; Sheppard, "Low," 144-45.
37. China Despatches, Low to Fish, March 25, 1872.
38. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, March 24, 1873; Low to Fish, unofficial, June 30, 1873; Low to Fish, July 10, 1873.
39. *Ibid.*, Low to Fish, May 30, 1872; Low to Fish, August 8, 1873; China Instructions. Fish to Low, April 9, 1874.
40. "James B. Angell Diaries Concerning his Service in China from 1880 to 1881," 1:13, James B. Angell Papers, Michigan Historical Collections of the University of Michigan; David L. Anderson, "The Diplomacy of Discrimination: Chinese Exclusion, 1876-1882," *California History*, 57 (Spring, 1978):40; Sheppard, "Low," 150-51; Melendy and Gilbert, *Governors*, 139.

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

Documents for the History of Sonoma, California, 1848-1906: A Calendar

Site of San Francisco Solano, northernmost of the California missions which was founded in 1823, headquarters for the northern California forces of the Republic of Mexico, and scene of the Bear Flag Revolt of 1847, Sonoma was a settlement of major importance in the mid-nineteenth century. Following the occupation of California by United States forces in latter years it was the residence of many of the principal personages in the state during its formative stage, and a center of transit and commerce during the Gold Rush. Although its life as County Seat was short, the influence of Sonoma's citizens was felt throughout northern California for many years.

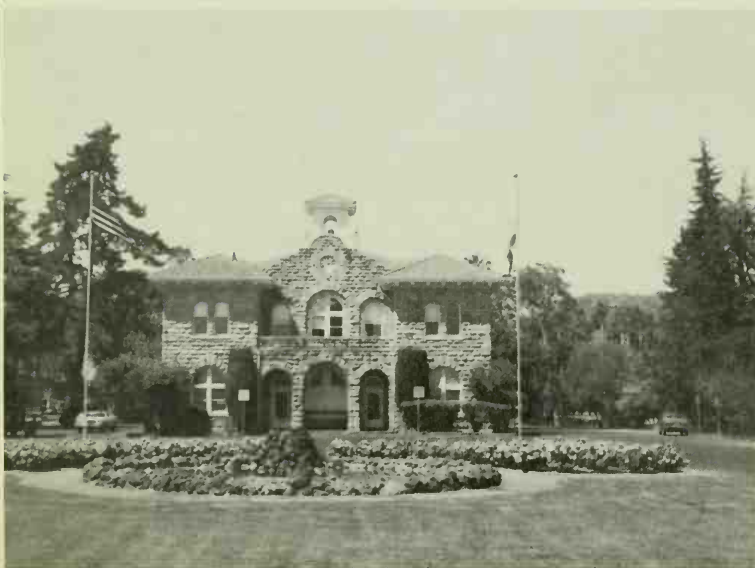
Fortunately, an extensive collection of documents relative to the early history of the area has been preserved in the Sonoma City Hall. Virtually untapped by historians, this collection provides a detailed insight into many of the problems faced during the early American period of California's history, locally and statewide. Transition from Mexican to United States territory brought questions of land ownership, citizenship and adaptation to new legal concepts to the fore, and often decades transpired before they were resolved.

The calendar of documents presented here has been arranged chronologically according to those agencies of municipal administration involved. The most extensive section, that of the City Council or Board of Trustees (CC), incorporating documents related to the office of Alcalde or Mayor, contains minutes, ordinances, resolutions, polls, election returns, oaths of office, surveys and general correspondence from February 2, 1848 to September 17, 1906. Second in importance is the section containing correspondence and minutes of the Board of Commissioners (BC) treating the problems of land ownership and pueblo boundaries between the years 1868-1887.

Lesser sections are those of Treasurer (T), pri-

marily containing bills and receipts for goods and services but providing a record of fiscal growth from 1850-1862 and 1889-1908, and Assessor (A) reflecting demographic development from 1851 to 1906. Records of the Board of Equalization (BE) reflect commercial activity from 1887 to 1907, and the section of miscellaneous Documents (M) contains correspondence of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo and burial records for Mountain Cemetery as major items.

Many thanks are expressed here to Mayor Henry Riboni, City Clerk Mrs. Eleanor Berto and their staff for their courtesies shown in preparing this calendar. Hopefully it will open new research to expand historical knowledge of the unique, fascinating and beautiful City of Sonoma.



Sonoma City Hall, the location for a variety of documents on the history of Sonoma and an almost untapped resource for historians concerned with the early American period in California history.

CITY OF SONOMA. HISTORICAL ARCHIVE. 1848-1906. *City Hall, Sonoma.* CALENDAR OF DOCUMENTS.

CITY OF SONOMA. ASSESSOR.

- A 1851, February 18. Assessment of
1 J. P. Leese ranch.
- A 1859, May 21. William Campbell.
2 Resignation as City Assessor.
- A 1860, May 28. Oath. John P. Jones.
3 as City Assessor.
- A 1860. Assessor's Roll.
4 56 p.
- A 1862. Assessor's Roll.
5 80 p.
- A 1878, September 26. Notice ordering
6 payment of taxes on land.
- A 1880, March 1 — 1921, March 16.
7 Abstracts of Title and Lists of
Encumbrances. 197 p., 1 map.
- A 1906. Sonoma County assessment roll.
8 Newspaper clipping.
- A n.d. S. F. Cowan, Assessor.
9 Account.

CITY OF SONOMA. BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS.

- BC 1868, April 25 — 1882, July 15.
1 Proceedings. 207 p.
- BC 1868, May 5. Bond. Jacob R. Snyder,
2 as member of Board of Commissioners.
- BC 1868, May 5. Bond. G. L. Wratten,
3 as member of Board of Commissioners.
- BC 1868, July 14. Correspondence.
4 U.S. Surveyor General's Office. Order
of Compliance with Survey. 1872,
November 11. Department of Interior
re Survey.
- BC 1868, August 25. J. M. Leavenworth.
5 Protest re survey of land.
- BC 1868, August 28. Mark Wooster.
6 Protest re survey of land.
- BC 1869, February 27. Correspondence.
7 J. T. Green re purchase of land.
- BC 1869, May 18. Correspondence.
8 John B. Wood, Healdsburg, re survey.
- BC 1869, June 11. William Blanding.
9 Petition to purchase land.
- BC 1869, November 16. Correspondence.
10 Sherman Day, U.S. Surveyor General,
re survey.
- BC 1869, November 29. Correspondence.
11 John A. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor's
Office, re survey of Sonoma.

- BC 1870, January 31. Correspondence.
12 John H. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor General's Office, re papers of Pueblo of Sonoma.
- BC 1870, July 12. Correspondence.
13 Sherman Day, U.S. Surveyor General, re Dr. Brewster.
- BC 1870, November 21. Correspondence.
14 G. L. Wratten, City Attorney, to Willis Drummond, U.S. Land Commissioner, re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1871, July 27. D. O. Shattuck.
15 Petition for conveyance of land.
- BC 1878, June 14. Correspondence.
16 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. to G. L. Wratten, City Attorney, re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1878, September 24. Correspondence.
17 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re fees in case of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, February 8. Correspondence.
18 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, March 15. William Pickett.
19 Petition re sale of Pueblo land.
- BC 1879, April 12. Rachel J. Snyder.
20 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1879, May 8. Correspondence.
21 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, July 16. Correspondence.
22 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, August 8. Correspondence.
23 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1879, December 27. Correspondence.
24 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 6. Correspondence.
25 To Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 16. Correspondence.
26 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, January 31. Correspondence.
27 Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C. re survey of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, February 26. Correspondence.
28 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, February 28. Correspondence.
29 T. Reichert, U.S. Surveyor General's Office, re re-survey of Pueblo lands. (with registry receipt)
- BC 1880, March 6. Correspondence.
30 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.

- BC 1880, March 20. Correspondence.
31 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, March 25. Correspondence.
32 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands. (with two registry receipts)
- BC 1880, March 31. Correspondence.
33 To Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, June 21. Correspondence.
34 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands.
- BC 1880, August 25. Correspondence.
35 Junius Simons, Washington, D.C. re defense of Pueblo lands. (with two registry receipts)
- BC 1881, February 2. Correspondence.
36 To James Samuels, Sacramento, re Pueblo lands.
- BC 1881, February 8. James L. Smith and Charles Glover. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. Charles Glover.
38 Petition re Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. Subpoena. Charles Glover v. Board of Commissioners re sale of Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 12. William R. Sloan.
40 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, March 15. Charles Glover.
41 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1881, May 31. Deed of land of David Calloway and Sabina C. Tivenen, to Pueblo of Sonoma.
- BC 1881, June 29. Howe and Hall.
43 Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
- BC 1887, March 16. Notice of sale of Pueblo lands.
44
- BC n.d. J. M. Cheney. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
45
- BC n.d. Communication. Gibson to E. E. Morse.
46
- BC n.d. Correspondence. John A. Brewster, U.S. Surveyor's Office, resurvey of Sonoma.
47
- BC n.d. Miles and Raich. Petition to purchase Pueblo land.
48
- BC n.d. G. L. Wratten, City Attorney. Report.
49

CITY OF SONOMA. BOARD OF EQUALIZATION.

- BE 1887, August 8 — 1907, September 4.
1 Roll Book. 118 p.
- BE 1900, August 18. Resolution.
2 Assessment of taxes.

CITY OF SONOMA. CITY COUNCIL (BOARD OF TRUSTEES).

- CC 1848, February 2. Rules for conducting the meeting of the town council for the town of Sonoma.
1
- CC 1848, February 2. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of retailers of groceries and liquors.
2
- CC 1848, February 5. Ordinance. Requiring licensing for sale of liquor.
3
- CC 1848, February 5. Ordinance. Prohibiting the sale of merchandise, groceries and liquors on the Sabbath.
4
- CC 1848, February 9. Minutes.
5
- CC 1848, February 15. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of grocery merchants.
6
- CC 1848, February 15. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of drygoods merchants.
7
- CC 1848, February 16. Ordinance. Prohibiting galloping of horses or other animals on City streets.
8
- CC 1848, March 1. Ordinance. Requiring closing of shops on Sabbath.
9
- CC 1848, March 1. Ordinance. Repealing requirement of improvement of lots.
10
- CC 1848, March 29. Ordinance. Repealing rental on lots.
11
- CC 1848, March. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of merchants.
12
- CC 1848, April. Charles Prentiss.
13 Petition.
- CC 1848. Ordinance. Prohibiting gambling at cards.
14
- CC 1848. Ordinance no. 13. Requiring the taxing of real estate.
15
- CC 1849, April 10. Minutes. (fragment)
16
- CC 1850, June 4. Oath of office.
17 R. B. Butler as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1850, September 14. Minutes.
18
- CC 1850, December 11. Correspondence.
19 Lindsey Carson to A.C. McDonald re tax payment.
- CC 1851, February 15. Minutes.
20
- CC 1851, February 22. Minutes.
21
- CC 1851, July 8. Ordinance. Permitting the loaning of money by the City Treasurer.
22
- CC 1851, July 19. Ordinance. Prohibiting galloping of horses or other animals on City streets.
23
- CC 1851, July 19. Ordinance. Requiring attendance of City Council members at meetings.
24

Ordinance to ~~prevent~~ ^{prevent} vending of Merchandise
Groceries, etc. Signs, from keeping their
Shops open on the Sabbath

1st Be it Ordained, That all Shops & Groceries,
be closed on the Sabbath except to buy
or carry on to other persons who may
be lawfully for delivery, or other purposes,
purposes which cannot well be dispensed with

2^d Be it Ordained, That if any Shop or Grocery
is found open or business to be sold any
prohibited things on the Sabbath and being
the cause of violating the peace or the
the violation and disorder shall be fined
under a penalty not less than ten dollars
nor more than one hundred dollars, the
fine to be paid to the proper
Magistrate

Witness my hand and seal this 1st day of
August 1848

J. B. Shattuck
Mayor

An ordinance (CC4) preventing vending on the Sabbath, 1848.

- CC 1851, August 16 — 1852, April 10.
25 Minutes.
- CC 1851, October 25. D. O. Shattuck.
26 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1851, November 18. Joshua S. Brackett.
27 Petition for payment.
- CC 1852, April 27. Minutes.
28
- CC 1852, May 3. Election returns.
29
- CC 1852, May 3. Election returns.
30
- CC 1852, May 6. Ordinance. Requiring
31 production of election returns.
- CC 1852, June 5. Minutes.
32
- CC 1852, June 5 — 1862, April 24. Minutes.
33 270 p.
- CC 1852, June 11. Deed of land to
34 Kennedy B. Talbot.
- CC 1852, June 19. Report of Committee on
35 Streets.
- CC 1852, June 19. Resolution. Construction
36 of school house.
- CC 1852, July 31 — 1853, March 12. Minutes.
37
- CC 1852, October 9. Ordinance no. 6.
38 Permitting the borrowing of money
from the City Treasury.
- CC 1852, October 18. Ordinance no. 7.
39 Establishing a burying ground.
- CC 1852, November 6. Correspondence.
40 Approval of Ordinance no. 9 to estab-
lish the eastern boundary of the City
of Sonoma. M. G. Vallejo, Mayor.
- CC 1852, November 6. Resolution. Land
41 of Rebecca Peterson.
- CC 1853, January 26. Ordinance. Requiring
42 licensing of merchants, grocers and hotels.
- CC 1853, March 5. D. O. Shattuck.
43 Resignation as Council member.
- CC 1853, May 6. Report of Committee on
44 Streets.
- CC 1853, May 8. Correspondence. Robert
45 Hopkins, Mayor, rejecting ordinance
to present claims of City of Sonoma
before United States Land Commission.
- CC 1853, May 12. Oath of office.
46 Robert Hopkins as Mayor.
- CC 1853, May 17. Resolution. Bond of
47 A. C. McDonald in District Court.
- CC 1853, June 5. Oath of office. James R.
48 Long as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1853, June 30. Ordinance. Requiring
49 payment of tax on land.
- CC 1853, August 8. Ordinance. Reducing
50 taxation.

- CC 1853, August 19. Ordinance. Extending
51 time to David O. Shattuck for
improvement on Broadway.
- CC 1853, November 12. Ordinance no. 16.
52 Permitting the sale of land.
- CC 1853, November 12. Oath of office.
53 Pedro J. Vázquez as Councilman.
- CC 1853, November 12. Oath of office.
54 John E. McNair as City Councilman.
- CC 1853, November 26. Edwin A. Sherman.
55 Resignation as Clerk of Council.
- CC 1854, May 30. Resolution. Requiring
56 payment for lots purchased from City.
- CC 1854, June 3. People of Sonoma.
57 Petition re land.
- CC 1856, September 27. Minutes.
58
- CC 1858, February 21. Lewis Adler.
59 Petition for title to lots.
- CC 1858, April 12. A. C. McDonald.
60 Petition for loan.
- CC 1858, November 13. P. J. Vázquez.
61 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1858, November 13. D. Calloway.
62 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1858, November 15. S. W. Shaw.
63 Petition for improvement of lots.
- CC 1858, November 16; 1859, February 11.
64 J. J. Arrington. Petition re leasing
of land.
- CC 1858, November 19. William Ellis.
65 Petition to grade streets.
- CC 1858, November 20. J. C. Leyva.
66 Petition re lot improvement.
- CC 1858, November 27. Nicholas Carriger.
67 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1858, November 27. H. J. Clayton.
68 Petition for land improvement.
- CC 1858, December 11. F. Ehrlich. Petition
69 to lease land.
- CC 1858, December 11. J. C. McCracken.
70 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, January 8. D. P. Shattuck.
71 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, January 15. Daniel D. Davisson.
72 Petition re leasing of street.
- CC 1859, January 24. John C. White.
73 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, February 12. Committee report
74 re work of D. Davisson.
- CC 1859, March 5. Notice of land sale.
75
- CC 1859, March 19. James A. Griffith.
76 Petition re street closing.
- CC 1859, May 2. Registry of voters.
77
- CC 1859, May 21. Election returns.
78
- CC 1859, May 27. Nathanson. Petition to
79 purchase land.
- CC 1859, June 13. William Ellis, et al.
80 Petition re street construction.
- CC 1859, June 24. Ordinance. Requiring
81 City Marshal to remove dam and
obstructions in channel.
- CC 1859, June 24. Resolution. Removal
82 of dam and channel obstructions.
- CC 1859, July 15. J. Black. Petition re
83 leasing of land.
- CC 1859, July 25. Anthony G. Oakes.
84 Resignation as Mayor.
- CC 1859, July 29. Minutes
85
- CC 1859, September 26. Lewis Adler.
86 Petition for lease of land.
- CC 1859, October 12. Memorandum re
87 bridges in Sonoma.
- CC 1859, October 24. Anton Krippenstoppel.
88 Contract for bridge construction.
- CC 1859, November 26. Correspondence.
89 R. P. Shattuck re construction of dam
and canal.
- CC 1860, January 10. C. B. Tucker, et al.
90 Petition re street closure.
- CC 1860, January 24 — 1861, February 25.
91 Minutes.
- CC 1860, June 23. Minutes. (fragment)
92
- CC 1860, July 2. Correspondence. M. G.
93 Vallejo, Mayor, re taxation ordinance.
- CC 1860, July 7, 16, 28. Minutes.
94
- CC 1860, July 14. Minutes.
95
- CC 1860, August 23 — September 8.
96 Minutes.
- CC 1860, October 27 — November 10.
97 Minutes.
- CC 1860, October 29. Oath of office.
98 Judson Haycock as City Attorney.
- CC 1860, November 13. Receipt, survey fees,
99 U.S. v. Mariano G. Vallejo.
- CC 1860, December 22, 29. Minutes.
100
- CC 1860, December 28. Notice to Settlers of
101 Sonoma Valley. Reporting suit against
United States relative to City boundaries.
- CC 1861, January 20. Correspondence. W. Ross,
102 Judge, re repeal of City charter of Sonoma.
- CC 1861, February 16. Correspondence.
103 Judson Haycock, attorney, re Wratten
v. Mayor of Sonoma.



*The seal of the City
of Sonoma, "The Bear
Flag City."*

- CC 1861, February 23. Correspondence.
104 W. Ross to William Ellis and Fred Rohrer re passage of bill in California Senate.
- CC 1861, April 1. Tally list of election to fill
105 unexpired term of M. G. Vallejo as mayor.
- CC 1861, May 8. Oath of office.
106 William Ellis as Alderman.
- CC 1861, June 5. Registry of voters.
107
- CC 1861, June 5. Election tally for election of
108 City Treasurer and City Marshal.
- CC 1861, June 15. Minutes.
109
- CC 1861, June 29. Notice of auction of
110 Paulis lands.
- CC 1861, September 2. Michael Dunnaho.
111 Petition for purchase of lots.
- CC 1862, April. Ordinance. Ordering the
112 appeal of land claims of M. G. Vallejo.
- CC 1862, June 7. Minutes. (fragment).
113
- CC 1863, February 7. C. F. Leiving, et al.
114 Petition to halt grazing of stock in Plaza.
- CC 1863, April 15. An Act to amend an
115 Act entitled an Act to Repeal an Act to Incorporate the City of Sonoma; 1862, May 8, An Act to repeal an Act to Incorporate the City of Sonoma of April 4, 1850.
- CC 1863, June 27. Inventory of lots to
116 be sold at auction.
- CC 1872, May 7. Notice of election of
117 concession of lands to Society of California Pioneers.
- CC 1872, May. List of electors and election
118 results re sale of Plaza to Society of California Pioneers.
- CC 1879, November 21. Correspondence.
119 Re Sonoma Valley Rail Road Company re petition for construction of depot.
- CC 1879, November 28. Sonoma Valley
120 Rail Road Company. Petition for a portion of the Plaza for use as depot.
- CC 1879, November 28. Resolution.
121 Erection of depot of Sonoma Valley Rail Road Company.
- CC 1883, September 3 — 1892, December 15.
122 Minutes. 312 p.
- CC 1883, September 3 — 1912, February 7.
123 Ordinances. 157 p.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. I.
124 Concerning meetings of the Board of Trustees. Ordinance no. II. Concerning bonds of City Treasurer, Marshal, Clerk, Recorder.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 3
125 Concerning misdemeanors.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 4.
126 Granting licenses.
- CC 1883, November 6. Ordinance no. 5.
127 Fixing salaries of City Marshal, Clerk, Treasurer, Recorder.
- CC 1883, December 4. Resolution no. 2.
128 Appointment of committees.
- CC 1884, January 8. Ordinance no. 6.
129 Establishing streets and adopting an official map.
- CC 1884, March 4. Resolution no. 5.
130 Recovery of books, papers and other documents from County recorder's office.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 7.
131 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 8.
132 Concerning misdemeanors.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 9.
133 Concerning destruction of City property.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 10.
134 Levying a street-poll tax.
- CC 1884, March 4. Ordinance no. 11.
135 Relating to posting of notices of elections.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 12.
136 Concerning time of the regular meetings of the Board of Trustees.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 13.
137 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1884, July 1. Ordinance no. 14.
138 Establishing the duties of marshal.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 15.
139 Impounding of stock at large in City.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 16.
140 Providing for assessment and collection of taxes.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 17.
141 Requiring permits for concealed weapons.
- CC 1884, September 3. Ordinance no. 18.
142 Prohibiting the hanging of bells on stock.
- CC 1884, September 3. Resolution.
143 Enclosure of the City pavilion.
- CC 1884, October 1. Ordinance no. 19.
144 Preventing obstruction of highways and crossings.
- CC 1884, November 18. Ordinance no. 20.
145 Prohibiting improper ringing of church bells.
- CC 1885, June 2. Resolution.
146 Completion of sidewalks.
- CC 1885, July 1. Ordinance no. 20.
147 Providing for an assessment system.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 21.
148 Regulating the keeping of dogs.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 22.
149 Establishing an annual street-poll tax.
- CC 1885, September 2. Ordinance no. 23.
150 Establishing a curfew for minors.
- CC 1885, October 7. Ordinance no. 24.
151 Relating to disposal of sewage and litter.
- CC 1886, March 3. Ordinance no. 27.
152 Regulating the draining of land.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 25. Requir-
153 ing publication of delinquent tax list.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 26. Prohibit-
154 ing animal slaughter houses in City.
- CC 1886, July 7. Ordinance no. 28.
155 Prohibiting distribution of intoxicating drinks to minors.
- CC 1887, January 5. Resolution.
156 Planting of trees in the Plaza.
- CC 1888, March 7. Ordinance no. 29.
157 Concerning bonds of City Treasurer, Marshal, Clerk, Recorder.
- CC 1889, April 3. Ordinance no. 32. Fixing
158 western boundary of Second Street East.
- CC 1889, April 3. Ordinance no. 32. Fixing
159 western boundary of Second Street East.
- CC 1888, June 6. Ordinance no. 30.
160 Fixing salaries of Clerk, Marshal, Treasurer, Recorder.
- CC 1889, August 7. Ordinance no. 33.
161 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate the burial of the dead.
- CC 1889, September 4. Ordinance no. 34.
162 Restricting sale of alcohol.
- CC 1889, November 6. Ordinance no. 35.
163 Repealing section 2 of Ordinance no. 31.
- CC 1889, December 4. Ordinance no. 36.
164 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate the burial of the dead.
- CC 1890, February 5. Ordinance no. 37.
165 Organizing a fire department.
- CC 1890, March 5. Ordinance no. 38.
166 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1890, July 2. Ordinance no. 39. Establish-
167 ing a chain gang for working out fines.
- CC 1890, September 3. Ordinance no. 40.
168 Altering Second Street East.
- CC 1890, December 3. Resolution.
169 Payment for street improvements out of general fund.
- CC 1891, July 1. Ordinance no. 41.
170 Providing a system for the assessment and collection of taxes.
- CC 1892, January 6. Report of Newton V. V.
171 Smyth, City Engineer Santa Rosa, re sewage system.

Mission San Francisco Solano, the northernmost of California's Franciscan missions, was founded on July 4, 1823 by Padre José Altamira.

- CC 1893, January 4-1901, March 6. Minutes.
172 29-399 p.
- CC 1893, May 3. Ordinance no. 43.
173 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1893, July 5. Ordinance no. 44.
174 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate burial of the dead.
- CC 1893, December 6. Ordinance no. 44.
175 Establishing a Board of Health to regulate burial of the dead.
- CC 1894, May 2. Ordinance no. 45.
176 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1894, July 5. Ordinance no. 46.
177 Establishing amusement license fees.
- CC 1895, January 2. Roster of Sonoma
178 volunteer firemen.
- CC 1895, March 6. Ordinance no. 47.
179 Banning noiseless vehicles from sidewalks.
- CC 1895, June 5. Ordinance no. 48.
180 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1895. Ordinance no. 49.
181 Granting of licenses to peddlers.
- CC 1896, April 19. Oath of office.
182 J. H. Scipp as Trustee.
- CC 1896, August 5. Ordinance no. 48. Grant-
183 ing of licenses for travelling merchants.
- CC 1896, September 2. Ordinance no. 50.
184 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
- CC 1896, September 21. Ordinance no. 49.
185 Fixing times for regular meetings of the Board of Trustees.
- CC 1896. Ordinance no. 49.
186 Establishing nuisances.
- CC 1897, March 17. Ordinance no. 52.
187 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
- CC 1897, April 7. Ordinance no. 51.
188 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1897, June 2. Ordinance no. 53.
189 Calling a special election for bonds for municipal water works.
- CC 1898, February 16. Resolution.
190 Repeal of Ordinances nos. 52, 53.
- CC 1898, February 16. Ordinance no. 55.
191 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
- CC 1898, March 2. Ordinance no. 54.
192 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1898, May 4. Ordinance no. 57.
193 Granting to Sonoma Electric Light Company franchise for transmission of electricity and gas.
- CC 1898, August 3. Ordinance no. 58.
194 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.



- CC 1899, February 1. Ordinance no. 62.
195 Establishing procedures for burial in Mountain Cemetery.
- CC 1899, March 1. Ordinance no. 63.
196 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1900, January 25. Ordinance no. 64.
197 Determining the need for a permanent municipal water works.
- CC 1900, February 21. Ordinance no. 65.
198 Calling a special election for bonds for municipal water works.
- CC 1900, March 15. Ordinance no. 66.
199 Calling a special election for bond for municipal water works.
- CC 1900, August 1. Ordinance no. 67.
200 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 92.
201 Taxing slot machines and card devices.
- CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 93.
202 Establishing licenses.
- CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 94.
203 Relating to licenses for undertakers, teamsters and printers.
- CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 98.
204 Establishing duties of sexton of Mountain Cemetery.
- CC 1900, November 21. Ordinance no. 98.
205 Relative to duties of sexton at Mountain Cemetery.
- CC 1900. Ordinance no. 64. Regulating the
206 use of bicycles, tricycles and automobiles.
- CC 1901, April 3-1910, August 15. Minutes.
207 497 p.
- CC 1901, May 7. Ordinance no. 69.
208 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1901, May 7-1916, July 5. Ordinances.
209 197 p.
- CC 1902, May 13. Resolution. Electric
210 street lights to be installed.
- CC 1902, July 1. Ordinance no. 70.
211 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1902. Description of land sold by Mrs.
212 L.V. Emparan and Mrs. M. V. Cutter.
- CC 1903, March 4. Ordinance no. 71.
213 Establishing the grade of Spain Street.
- CC 1903, May 6. Ordinance no. 72.
214 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1903, October 7. Ordinance no. 73.
215 Franchise to C. T. Ryland to construct underground conduits for electric lighting.
- CC 1904, May 4. Ordinance no. 75.
216 Fixing water rates.
- CC 1904, June 2. Ordinance no. 76.
217 Fixing bonds of City Marshal, Clerk, Treasurer, Recorder.
- CC 1904, July 6. Ordinance no. 77.
218 Granting to the Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company the right to erect transmission lines.
- CC 1904. Ordinance no. 77.
219 Franchise to Sunset Telephone and Telegraph Company to install telephone and telegraph lines.
- CC 1905, March 1. Ordinance no. 78.
220 Granting to S. Schockeu and Oscar T. Weber the right to construct a railway.

"Lachryma Montis" (Tears of the Mountain) the home of General Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo. Its name was derived from a nearby Sonoma spring.



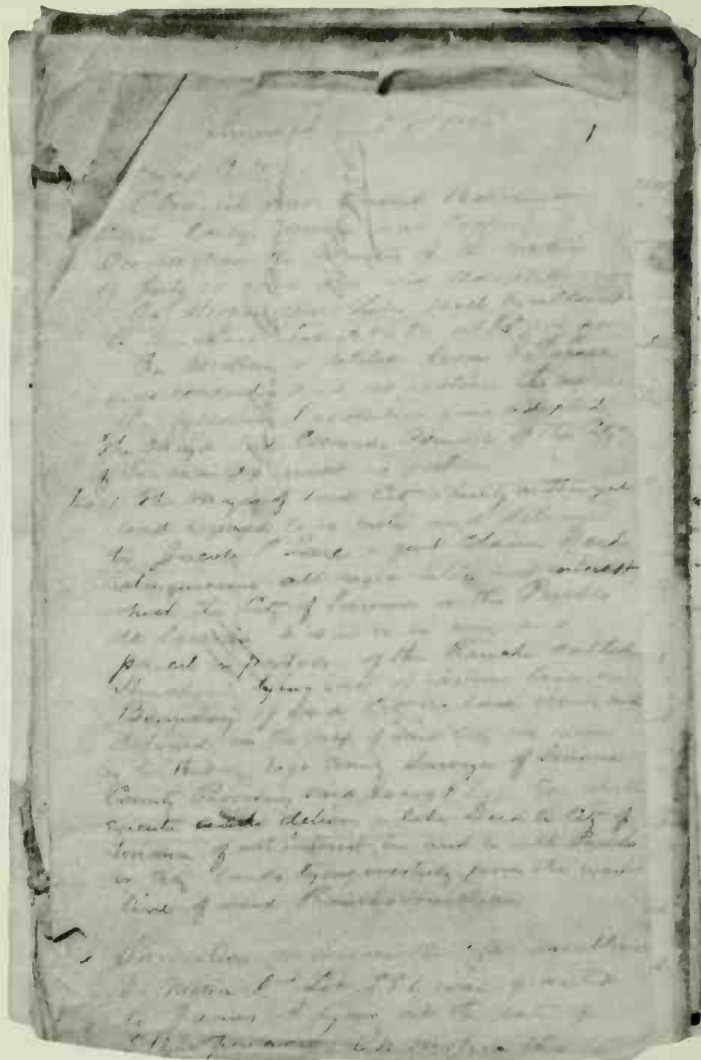
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| CC 1905, April 5. Ordinance no. 79. | CC 1905, September 6. Ordinance no. 83. | CC n.d. Anton Krippenstoppel. Contract |
| 221 Fixing water rates. | 229 Calling for special bond election. | 238 for bridge construction. |
| CC 1905, April 5. Resolution. | CC 1906, May 2. Ordinance no. 84. Concern- | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| 222 New City Hall to be built and | 230 ing licenses for amusement facility. | 239 |
| CC 1905, May 10. Ordinance no. 80. | CC 1906, May 2. Ordinance no. 84. Concern- | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| 223 Granting to San Francisco and | 231 ing licenses for amusement facility. | 240 |
| Northern Pacific Railway Company | CC 1906, September 17. Order to John T. | CC n.d. Minutes. |
| right to construct a switch. | 232 Mac Quiddy to erect a new City Hall. | 241 (fragment) |
| CC 1905, May 27. Resolution. | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. | CC n.d. Motion. Appointment of translator |
| 224 Municipal improvements. | 233 Offer of service as Clerk. | 242 of ordinances to Spanish language. |
| CC 1905, May 27. Resolution. New | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. Petition | CC n.d. Motion. Attorneys be licensed |
| 225 municipal building to be constructed. | 234 for grant of land. | 243 to practice. |
| CC 1905, June 7. Ordinance no. 81. | CC n.d. Peter Campbell. Petition re | CC n.d. Ordinance. Concerning improper |
| 226 Calling for special bond election. | 235 street closure. | 244 location of public laundry. |
| CC 1905, June 7. Ordinance no. 81. Bond | CC n.d. Committee report re | CC n.d. Ordinance. Establishing salary |
| 227 election for municipal improvements. | 236 purchase of lots. | 245 of town constable. |
| CC 1905, July 5. Announcement | CC n.d. Correspondence. Henry L. Ford | CC n.d. Ordinance no. 3. Preventing the |
| 228 of bond sale. | 237 to McDonald re payment for land. | 246 sale of goods and groceries on Sunday. |

- CC n.d. Ordinance. Prohibiting improper
247 ringing of church bells.
- CC n.d. Ordinance. Regulating fees of
248 officers of the Council.
- CC n.d. Ordinance. Repealing requirements
249 for lot improvement.
- CC n.d. Ordinance. Requiring improvement
250 of lots.
- CC n.d. Ordinance. Requiring licensing of
251 grocers and dealers in wines and
liquors.
- CC n.d. Report of Committee on Construc-
252 tion of Bridges.
- CC n.d. Report of Committee re licensing
253 of attorneys.
- CC n.d. Report of Committee for removal
254 of ditch outside of town.
- CC n.d. Report re salary of
255 City Marshal.
- CC n.d. Resolution no. 8. Alcalde to give
256 public notice of requirement for
payment for lots.
- CC n.d. Resolution. All ordinances require
257 signature of Alcalde.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Establishing a
258 public reserve.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Expenditures to
259 improve Napa Street.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Expenditures to
260 improve Napa Street.
- CC n.d. Resolution.
261 Grading of Broadway.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Illegal use of
262 church bells.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Maintenance of
263 sidewalks required.
- CC n.d. Resolution no. 3. Ordering
264 seizure of lots.
- CC n.d. Resolution.
265 Public school house.
- CC n.d. Resolution no. 16. Regulation of
266 crossings over sidewalks.
- CC n.d. Resolution no. 10. Requiring interest
267 on monies paid for licenses.
- CC n.d. Resolution. Secure services of
268 F. T. Duhring as Council attorney.
- CC n.d. D. O. Shattuck. Petition re
269 grading of streets.
- CC n.d. R. Snead and William Cubberley.
270 Petition for lease of lots.
- CC n.d. Specifications for grading and
271 levelling of Plaza of Sonoma.
- CC n.d. Terms of sale of lots.
272
- CC n.d. M. G. Vallejo. Letter of gratitude,
273 as mayor, to citizens of Sonoma.
- CC n.d. G. L. Wratten. Resignation as
274 City Attorney.
- CC n.d. Declaration. Plaza of Sonoma
275 proclaimed public property.
- CITY OF SONOMA. TREASURER.
- T 1850, June 19. Account with Secretary
1 of State, San José.
- T 1850, October 7. Peter Campbell.
2 Bill for services.
- T 1850, December 28. J. L. V. Sam, A. C.
3 McCracken, Benjamin Mitchel, Bills
for services.
- T 1851, April 4. Peter R. Campbell.
4 Bill for services.
- T 1851, April 24. Peter Campbell.
5 Bill for services.
- T 1851, May 6. Peter Campbell.
6 Bill for services.
- T 1852, June 17-1862, June 24. Accounts.
7 32 p.
- T 1853, October 23. Jesse Davisson.
8 Petition for money.
- T 1856. March 8. Oath of office.
9 J. C. McCracken as City Treasurer.
- T 1856, April 12. P. J. Vázquez.
10 Bill for services.
- T 1858, February 11, March 5. William
11 Copeland. Bills (3) for services.
- T 1858, April 10. Daniel D. Davisson.
12 Bill for services.
- T 1858, April 19. M. Murphy.
13 Bill for services.
- T 1858, April 19. Daniel D. Davisson.
14 Bill for services.
- T 1858, April 19. Daniel D. Davisson.
15 Bill for services.
- T 1858, May 1. George L. Wratten.
16 Bill for services.
- T 1858, August 21. D. Davisson.
17 Bill for services.
- T 1859, February 3. Bruno and Capebohm.
18 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, April 9. Bill.
19
- T 1859, April 9. Bill.
20
- T 1859, April 13. Bruno and Capebohm.
21 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, March 2, April 18. J. L. Butler
22 and J. J. Arrington. Bills for land.
- T 1859, March 12. John Leitz.
23 Bill for services.
- T 1859, April 18. R. Leitz.
24 Bill for services.
- T 1859, May 4. Bill. Clerk fee,
25 Mayor of Sonoma v. A. C. McDonald.
- T 1859, May 4. P. J. Vázquez.
26 Bill for services.
- T 1859, May 27. Bruno and Capebohm.
27 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, May 27. Bruno and Capebohm.
28 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, June 23. Daniel D. Davisson.
29 Bill for services.
- T 1859, August 6. Bill.
30
- T 1859, October 12. Alta California Job
31 Printing Office. Bill for services.
- T 1859, October 20. A. S. Berry.
32 Bill for services.
- T 1859, October 20. Bruno and Capebohm.
33 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, October 29. J. Chauvet.
34 Bill for services.
- T 1859, November 19. A. Cuppinstanph.
35 Bill for goods.
- T 1859, November 19. D. P. Shattuck.
36 Bill for services.
- T 1859, December 10. Daniel D. Davisson.
37 Bill for services.
- T 1860, January 18, 25. P. J. Vázquez.
38 Bill for services.
- T 1860, January 28. John Morris.
39 Bill for services.
- T 1860, July 28. R. H. Long.
40 Bill for services.
- T 1860, July 28. N. Long.
41 Bill for services.
- T 1860, September. Gorham Lodge and
42 Ralph Kellerman, Bill for services.
- T 1860, October 9. A. A. Green. Receipt.
43
- T 1860, October 12. A. A. Green. Receipt.
44
- T 1860, October 27. S. F. Cowan, Clerk.
45 Bill for services.
- T 1860, November 10. H. L. Lidstrom,
46 Clerk. Payment of bill.
- T 1860, November 19. G. McConnell.
47 Bill for services.
- T 1860, December 8. Peter Campbell.
48 Bill for services.
- T 1860, December 22. Robert Moore.
49 Bill for services.
- T 1860, December 28. M. Wooster.
50 Bill for services.
- T 1861, February 8. John Ryan.
51 Voucher for services.
- T 1861, February 8. S. F. Cowan. Voucher.
52
- T 1861, March 29. H. L. Lidstrom, Clerk.
53 Bill for services.

- T 1861, April 8. Lewis Blanding.
54 Receipt for fees.
T 1861, June 8. Oath of office.
55 Charles Dierlam as City Treasurer.
T 1861, October 25. F. H. Wunderlich.
56 Receipt for land.
T 1861, G. L. Wratten, City Attorney.
57 Bill for services.
T 1862, April 5. William Ellis.
58 Bill for goods.
T 1862, April 5. H. L. Lidstrom.
59 Bill for services.
T 1862, July 21. Jackson Temple.
60 Bill for services.
T 1889, July 1-1908, December 2. Accounts.
61 4-89 p.
T 1897, December 1-1908, June 6.
62 Accounts. 2-53 p.
T 1905, August 2. H. H. Granice.
63 Bill for services.
T n.d. J. J. Arrington. Bill for goods.
64
T n.d. Bill.
65
T n.d. N. Long.
66 Bill for services.
T n.d. Report re Thomas Spriggs,
67 ex-treasurer.

CITY OF SONOMA. MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS.

- M 1860, June 15. Correspondence.
1 M. G. Vallejo to Platon Vallejo
(A.L.S.). Reporting election as Mayor
of Sonoma.
M 1880, December 28. Receipt.
2 M. G. Vallejo to Sonoma Water Works.
M 1887, October 8-1891, December 1.
3 Account Book, City Marshal. 128 p.
M 1889, August 20-1904, 17 February.
4 Register of Deaths and Burials.
Mountain Cemetery. 4-41 p.
M 1892, August 2-1904, December 8.
5 Demands and Warrants. 89 p.
M n.d. Blotter Book. 3 pen sketches.
6 Printed maps from Senate Executive
Document 47, 1st. Session, 31st.
Congress. Sacramento Valley (2),
Northern California (3), Gold Region
(6), Los Angeles (1), Road, Missouri to
Oregon from Field Notes of
J. C. Frémont.
M n.d. Ordinance no. 26. Closing hours
7 of saloons in Healdsburg.
M n.d. Ynventario de "Lachryma Montis"
8 propiedad rural del Gen. M. G. Vallejo.



Title page of Minutes of the Sonoma Town Council (CC 25),
August 16, 1851.

Illustrations of documents are courtesy of the Sonoma City Hall.
All other photographs were supplied by the author.

Book Reviews

Ho For California!: Women's Overland Diaries from the Huntington Library.

Edited and Annotated by Sandra L. Myres (San Marino, California: The Henry E. Huntington Library, 1980, 314 pp. \$20.00.)

Reviewed by Valerie Sherer Mathes, Professor of History at City College of San Francisco, author of articles in professional journals on the history of Indian Women and other related Indian subjects.

"Westering women became the protagonists of a stereotyped version of the west as false as that of the Hollywood Indian," writes Dr. Sandra L. Myres in her latest book, *Ho For California!* To present a fresh approach to these women, instead of the traditional picture of a stoic woman awaiting danger or the reluctant overworked wife, Dr. Myres has selected and edited five diaries from the collection of the Huntington Library.

The diary of Jane McDougal, written in May, 1849, is one of a very few written by women who traveled across the Isthmus of Panama. Mrs. McDougal, after a short visit in California with her husband, decided to return home to Indiana with her daughter and brother-in-law and booked passage on the *California*. Her diary presents the usual problems confronting sea travelers, but she does note a potential mutiny which fortunately never occurred.

The California Trail experience is recounted by the diaries of Mary Stuart Bailey and Helen Carpenter. Mary, accompanied by her physician husband set out from their home in Sylvania, Ohio in 1852 while nineteen year old Helen Carpenter, accompanied by her husband and a large family left their home in Kansas in 1857. Both diaries describe the problems of overland travel; extremes in weather, the need to constantly secure grass for livestock, and descriptions of the various camping sites. Helen's diary, the longer of the two, includes some Indian ethnology and notes difficulties with Indians following their train. Fortunately, no attack occurred because one member of the party fired on one of the Indians, hitting his horse instead, and the Indians withdrew.

The Southwestern trail is represented by the diaries of Harriet Bunyard and Maria Shrode. Harriet was only nineteen in 1869 when she accompanied her family over this trail and Maria Shrode was a forty-four-year-old mother of eight.

A brief introduction which appears before each of the three western trails includes information on the route in general, conditions and diseases confronting the traveler, and comments from journals other than those included. The journals that follow are skillfully edited by Dr. Myres who notes that they would never become literary classics nor did they include thrilling adventures. Instead they are intended to present a day by day report from a woman's point of view, and are especially valuable because they include insights seldom given by male diarists. These insights pertain to domestic aspects of overland travel. For example, Helen Carpenter mentions that milk cans were suspended from wagon bows and while the wagon bounced along the trail, the milk was churned into butter. Other interesting aspects of various woman-oriented activities are also discussed in these journals.

This volume of five carefully selected journals, some of which have never been published, includes illustrations and a well researched bibliography. This well organized and handsomely designed volume is an important primary resource and a valuable addition to the library of any collector of Western Americana.

The Blind Boss & His City: Christopher Augustine Buckley and Nineteenth-Century San Francisco.

By William A. Bullough. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1979. 347 pp. \$19.95.)

Imperial San Francisco: Politics and Planning in an American City, 1897-1906.

By Judd Kahn. (Lincoln, London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979. 263 pp. \$17.95.)

Reviewed by Charles A. Fracchia, instructor in the Department of Humanities at San Francisco State University, lecturer on San Francisco history at the Community College of San Francisco, and author of several books.

These two books on San Francisco follow in the recent and, alas, yet too limited tradition of such works as Roger Lotchin's *San Francisco, 1846-1856, From Hamlet to City* and



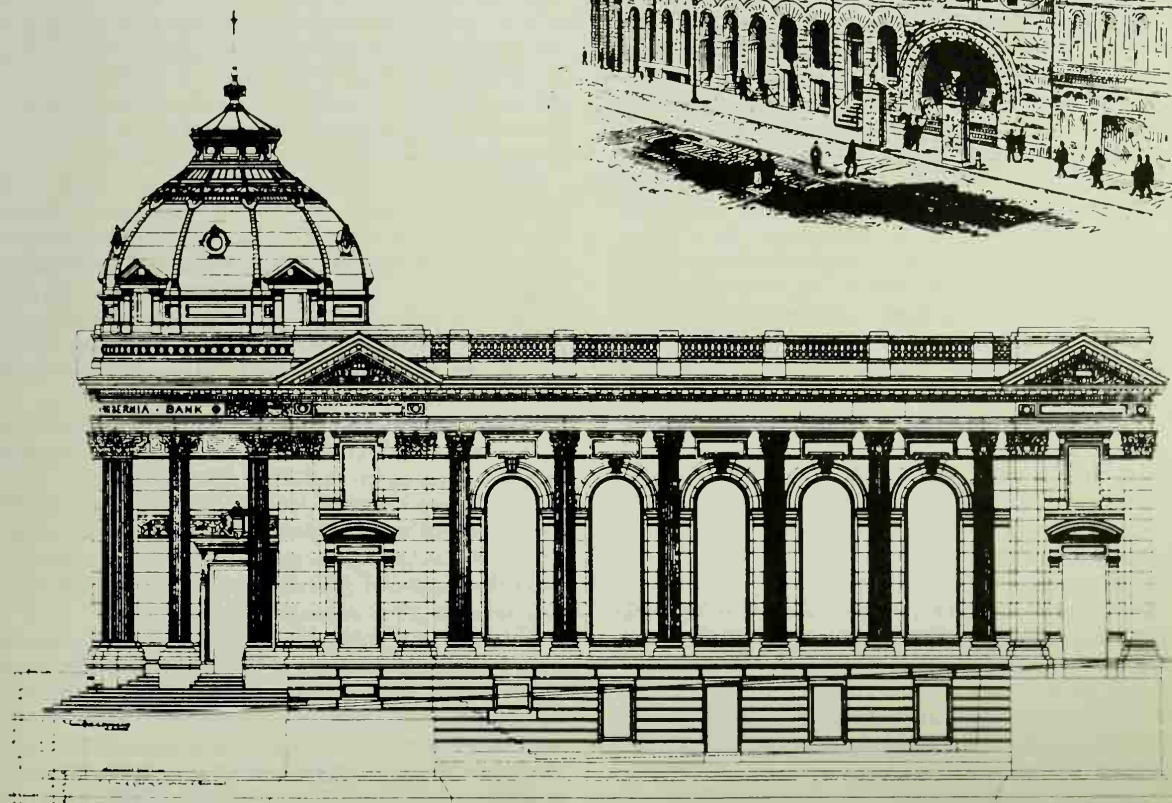
Peter Decker's *Fortunes and Failures: White-Collar Mobility in Nineteenth Century San Francisco*. What these books have in common is that they examine specific aspects of San Francisco's past in a scholarly way, contributing greatly to our understanding of the people and forces that shaped the metropolis. For a city with both a colorful and significant past, San Francisco has suffered from a plethora of books

which are little more than popular, romanticized tales of the city and from a deficiency of well-researched, analytical explorations of the city's development. Both Bullough and Kahn have successfully contributed towards ending this deficiency.

Both books — one using biography as the tool of analysis, the other utilizing social, political, and economic

Following the great earthquake and fire of 1906, San Franciscans began to rebuild their city. Some were faster than others as can be seen by this "reconstruction" of the St. Francis Hotel.

The variety of nineteenth century San Francisco architecture: Top, The California Hotel, Bush Street near Kearny. Below, a plan for the Hibernia Bank as seen in California Architect and Building News for October of 1889.



processes — provide much needed studies of the roughly three decades between the *götterdämmerung* of 1875 and the earthquake and fire of 1906. The fascination of writers on San Francisco's past with its Spanish religious and military origins, the Gold Rush, and the subsequent quarter century has tended to cause neglect of the last quarter century of the nineteenth century and of the twentieth century. Bullough and Kahn partially fill this vacuum.

Biographies of significant San Francisco historical figures have in general been of little value (Lavender's *Nothing Seemed Impossible*, a biography of William C. Ralston, and Shumate's *George Gordon's California and San Francisco* being notable exceptions). They have tended towards popular accounts of trivial characters. Bullough's biography of Christopher A. Buckley, the "Blind Boss of San Francisco," is a biography in the conventional sense only in that it tells the life of the man in chronological fashion. Rather, Bullough is much more interested in placing Buckley in the broader historical kaleidoscope of the rapid urbanization of U.S. cities during the second half of the nineteenth century and the consequent emergence of the phenomenon of the city boss and his machine. Bullough paints Buckley as a quintessential nineteenth century-type — the self-made man; but in Buckley's case this individualism is directed towards municipal and state political control rather than towards business. In effect, *The Blind Boss & His City* is a case study in that nineteenth century process of urbanization and its effect on municipal politics; and in the process Bullough has provided a brilliant analysis of both the rise of a political titan who mastered the "new politics" and of a city whose demographic profile during the latter part of the nineteenth century called forth these political changes.

Although there are numerous differences between the two books, *The Blind Boss & His City* deserves to rank alongside the late Walton Bean's *Abe Ruef's San Francisco*.

Judd Kahn's *Imperial San Francisco* deals with the period following Buckley's fall from power in the 1890s; and, although he discusses individuals of importance during the time with which he deals — 1897-1906 — he is much more interested in more abstract forces: the intersection of politics and planning in San Francisco during this period.

Kahn gives the reader sufficient background on the haphazard physical development of San Francisco, so antithetical to its geography and topography, before discussing the principal theme of his book: the desire of a small oligarchical faction, led by James D. Phelan (a reforming Democrat who was instrumental in unseating Buckley as

master of Democratic politics in San Francisco and who served as mayor of San Francisco from 1897 to 1901), to transform the city of San Francisco into a more logically ordered, more aesthetically planned city; the obtaining of such a plan from Daniel H. Burnham and his staff; and the failure to implement the Burnham Plan, even after the Earthquake and Fire of 1906.

The careful tracing of these developments allows Kahn to discuss the confluence of the dynamics of labor, business, and politics during the last years of the nineteenth century. The reform administration of the capable, energetic Phelan is succeeded by that under the nominal tutelage of Mayor Eugene Schmitz, but actually controlled by boss Abe Ruef; and this administration is distrusted by both business and by such high-minded reformers as Phelan and Spreckels.

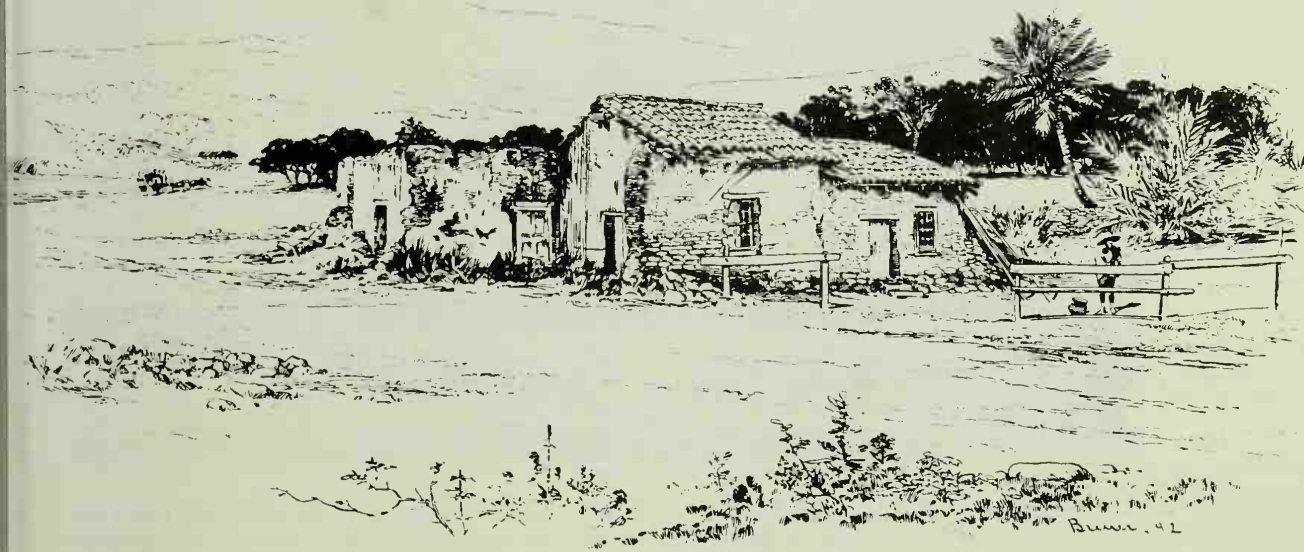
Thus, when the Burnham Plan is completed in 1905 and when the disaster of the following year gives San Francisco a "God-sent" opportunity to implement it, the lack of a forceful coalition to do so, the strong *laissez-faire* proclivities of the times, the narrow interests of property holders, and the reconstruction conservatism that Kahn maintains is a factor common to all cities that have been destroyed act in concert to rebuild San Francisco as it existed before 1906.

My two criticisms of *Imperial San Francisco* are: (1) that Kahn fails to integrate these local issues into larger questions, such as whether there was a connection between the failure to implement the Burnham Plan and San Francisco's comparative decline, beginning around 1880, with regard to population and economic factors in relation to other cities in the West and (2) that he did not provide a more extensive description and critique of the Burnham Plan and its continuing influence on San Francisco's city planning.

Both Bullough and Kahn give evidence of being imbued with recent trends in urban historiography: most specifically, a consciousness that urban developments take place in a much broader context, partake in national trends. This consciousness has been previously lacking in accounts of San Francisco, giving rise to a distorted perspective on the city's development, often implying that its urban experience was unique and occurred in a vacuum.

The Blind Boss & His City and *Imperial San Francisco* are both superb contributions to Western urban history and excellent, scholarly — and well written — contributions to the mosaic of San Francisco's urban experience. As such, they are to be recommended to all serious students of San Francisco; but they also provide interesting reading for the general reader who is interested in San Francisco's past.

Nineteenth century adobe ruins near Santa Barbara



Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios.

By Albert Camarillo. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. xiii, 326 pp. \$17.50.)

The Los Angeles Barrio 1850-1890: A Social History.

By Richard Griswold del Castillo. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. xiv, 217 pp. \$16.95.)

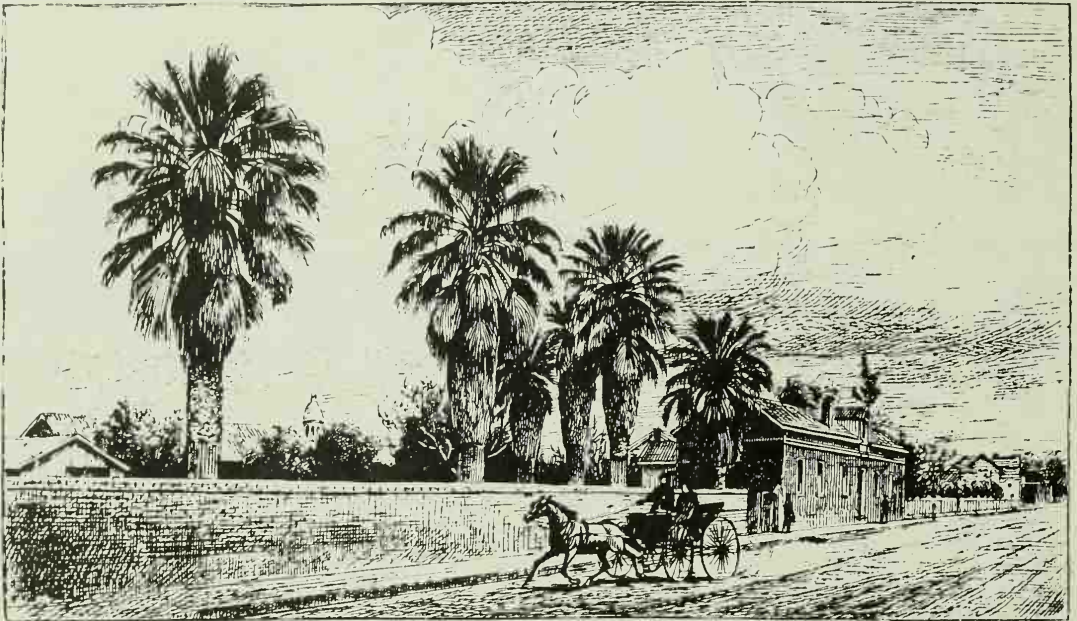
Reviewed by Enrique Cortés, Professor of History, California State University, Dominguez Hills, author of Relaciones entre México y el Japón durante el Porfiriato and articles on the Mexican American.

These two books give us an insight into nineteenth- and twentieth-century Southern California urban history and contribute importantly to our understanding of one of the largest ethnic groups in the western United States, with its

different racial, cultural, socio-economic, and political characteristics. Up to recent times the history of the Mexican American has been a scarcely charted territory, done mainly by non-Mexican Americans applying traditional methodology. However, these two young Mexican American historians have coupled traditional investigation with methods of quantitative analysis to create a lucid, informative social history of Southern California.

Both authors researched the pertinent published literature, dissertations and theses, the Spanish-language press, archival sources, census data, city directories, and government publications (Camarillo also conducted oral interviews). The tables, illustrations, appendixes, and glossaries add to the value of these two works. Their footnotes are abundant: however, in Camarillo's study, they are given toward the end of the book, a convenience for the printer but a nuisance for the reader.

Camarillo's urban history of the Chicanos in Southern California from 1848 to 1930 focuses on Santa Barbara as a case study, with two chapters comparing its historical development with that of Los Angeles, San Diego, and San

San Pedro Street in old Los Angeles

Bernardino, paying special attention to the creation and growth of their respective barrios. By tracing the origin of the Chicano working class to the pastoral economy of California's Mexican Period, and by examining its evolution and later incorporation into the Anglo American capitalistic economy, he shows how the socio-economic and political relations between Chicanos and Anglos were established by the end of the nineteenth century; also, how these developments were the cause of the socio-economic subordination of Chicano workers, since the capitalistic labor market forced them, together with the Mexican immigrant, into an unskilled and semiskilled status in this century.

Among the merits of Camarillo's book is its having "rescued" the early history of the Chicano and its demonstration of the role played in that history by women, language, socio-cultural activities, and Chicano organizations as catalytic agents.

Griswold del Castillo's book, using as a case study Los Angeles, the largest Mexican town in Southern California, examines the metamorphosis that took place during the first four decades of United States California. He describes how the Spanish-speaking inhabitants of the Mexican frontier-town of Nuestra Senora Reina de los Angeles became a

marginal ethnic enclave in the Anglo community called Los Angeles. The Anglo culture in its most brutal and progressive forms had a greater impact on the Mexican towns, which were swiftly changed.

His analysis explores the economic, familial, social, political, religious and geographical accommodation of the Mexican American to the changing circumstances of Anglo domination. The people of Sonora Town, as the old pueblo section became known, stubbornly and constructively resisted vice, discrimination, and efforts at repatriation. And isolated though they were, their grim determination to survive led to a creative ethnic consciousness and resulted in the publication of their own newspapers, and in the formation of *mutualista* and other social and political organizations sponsoring socio-cultural activities and giving the barrio a life apart from the Anglo society. To Griswold del Castillo, therein lies the historical origin of the urban Chicano with his assertion of ethnic identity and pride.

Fresh and original, these two books, each a combination of ethnic consciousness and solid scholarship, help to fill a void that has long existed in the history of California.

The photograph and illustrations are from the CHS Library.

Book Notices

Compiled by Gary F. Kurutz

Philippe Bunau-Varilla. The Man Behind the Panama Canal. By Gustave Anguizola. (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1980. 472 pp. \$25.95). Anguizola, in this well-documented work, presents the history of the canal and the significant contributions of Bunau-Varilla, the obscure French engineer who made possible its construction.

California Civilization. An Interpretation. By Howard A. DeWitt. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt, 1980. 303 pp. \$14.95). According to the author of this textbook, "the myths surrounding California history are long standing, and the need to break down stereotypes is one of the major reasons for this reinterpretation of the Golden State."

The Making of Oregon. A Study in Historical Geography. By Samuel N. and Emily F. Dicken. (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1979. 232 pp. \$12.95). "The Making of Oregon delineates Man's role in shaping the state from the time of indigenous Indians, through the pioneer period, to the urbanization of our time, recounting the changes on the landscape made by all who have populated Oregon."

The Road West. Saga of the 35th Parallel. By Bertha S. Dodge. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980. 215 pp. \$15.95). This narrative recounts the story of the intrepid explorers, surveyors, scientists, and pioneers who opened the Southwest from Fort Smith, Arkansas to Los Angeles. Dodge begins with the Coronado expedition and ends with the novel camel experiments of Lt. Edward F. Beale.

Biography of a Small Town. By Elvin Hatch. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 291 pp.). Hatch, an anthropologist, describes the history of the typical American farming town by tracing the story of a fictionalized central California rural community from its beginnings in the 1880s to the mid-1960s.

Photographing the Frontier. By Dorothy and Thomas Hoobler. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980. 192 pp. \$9.95). Designed for juveniles, this represents the first study to offer broad coverage of the American West's pioneer photographers. The authors give general coverage of California and the images of Vance, Shew, Fardon, Muybridge and Watkins.

Steinbeck's Street: Cannery Row. By Mary Rodriguez and Maxine Knox. (San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1980. 97 pp. \$6.95). Appealing to the tourist and history buff, the authors have presented an illustrated literary and historical

guidebook to the street made famous by Steinbeck's classic novels. Appropriately, the book concludes with 42 prize winning recipes for sardines.

Preliminary Listing of the San Francisco Manuscript Collections in the Library of the California Historical Society. By Diana Lachatanere. (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1980. 64 pp. \$6.30). This compilation describes in detail 266 manuscript collections in the Society's library. It is a valuable source for all students and scholars of the city's history.

Cities of the American West. A History of Frontier Urban Planning. By John W. Reps. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979. 827 pp. \$75.00). "This book virtually constitutes a historical atlas of Western cities and towns and provides a vivid picture of urban planning and development beyond the Mississippi." Embellished with over 530 illustrations (35 in color), Reps, in this monumental work, devotes chapters to California's Spanish towns, Gold Rush settlements, and the urban growth and expansion of Northern and Southern California.

The Jews of the West. The Metropolitan Years. Edited by Moses Rischin. (Berkeley: Western Jewish History Center, 1979. 157 pp. \$5.95). Seven urban and ethnic historians have contributed essays "devoted to illuminating the experience of the Jews of the West, concentrating on four major metropolitan centers, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver and Portland." Articles range from the story of pioneer merchants in San Francisco to the volatile politics of Hollywood from 1933 to 1953.

Memoirs of a San Francisco Organ Builder. By Louis J. Schoenstein. (San Francisco: Cue Publications, 1977. 701 pp. \$15.00). This reminiscence, written by a native San Francisco organ builder, covers not only the story of the great organs, their makers, and organists but also the church and music history of the Bay area.

The Story of the Mine. As Illustrated by the Great Comstock Lode of Nevada. By Charles Howard Shinn. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1980. 146 pp. \$6.75). Known as a major source on the Big Bonanza, the reprint of the 1910 edition of Shinn's book is the first in a series of publications "to revive the literature and history of Nevada's early years."

Jack London First Editions. By Robert W. Martens and



James E. Sission. (Oakland: Star Rover House, 1979. 139 pp. \$24.95). Sission and Martens, two long time London scholars have compiled a detailed guide to the collection of London first editions. It is a valuable work for all London collectors and bibliophiles and contains listings of bibliographic points and photographs of these prized volumes.

Historic Preservation in Small Towns. A Manual of Practice. By Walter C. Kidney and Arthur P. Ziegler, Jr. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1980. 146 pp. \$6.75). Two Pittsburgh preservationists offer a practical "how-to" manual on the means of saving historic buildings in small towns and urban areas.

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By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

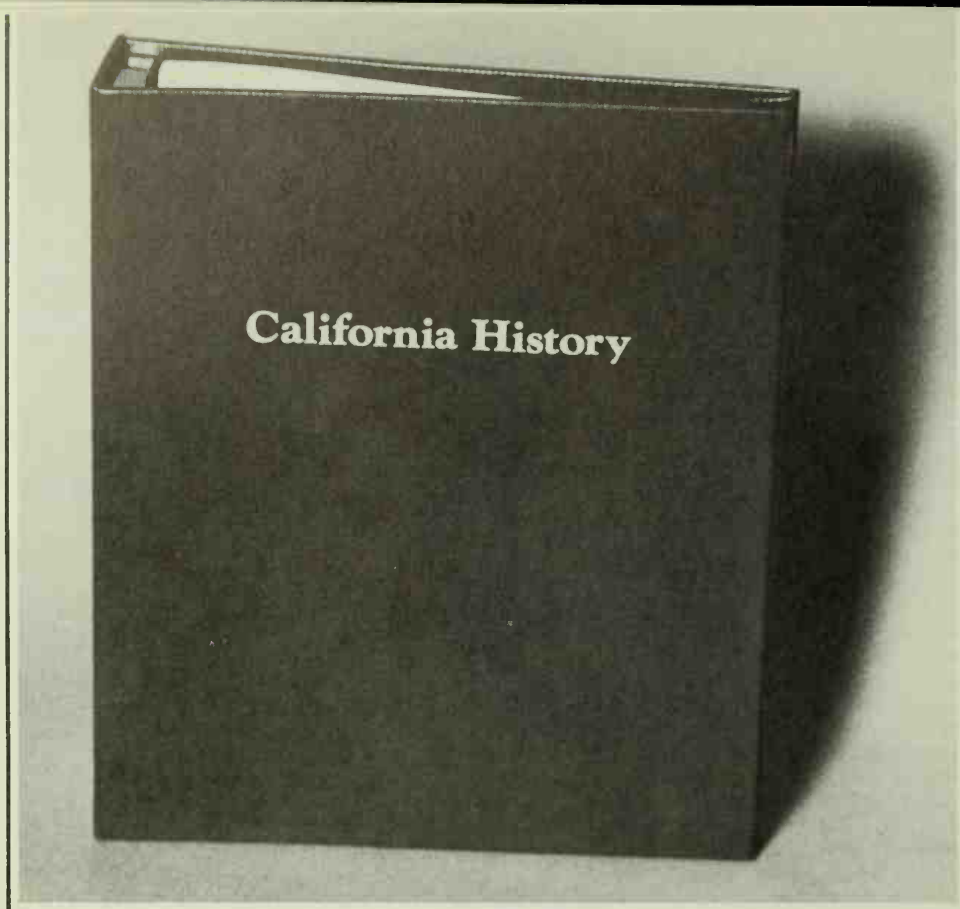
The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1979-80) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Andersen, Timothy J., Eudorah M. Moore, & Robert W. Winter. *California Design, 1910*. Photographer: Morley Baer. Santa Barbara & Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980. 144 pp. \$11.95.
- Becker, Robert H. *The Plains and the Rockies: A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel Exploration and Adventure in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1800-1865*, by Henry R. Wagner and Charles L. Camp. Fourth edition. Revised and enlarged. San Francisco: John Howell Books, 1980.
- Bidwell, Annie E. K. *Rancho Chico Indians*. Edited by Dorothy J. Hill. Chico: Bidwell Mansion Cooperating Association, 1980. 72 pp. Publisher, 525 Esplanade, Chico, 95926. \$8.00.
- Brown, James L. *Dissension in Arcady. The Bear Flag Revolt*. Campbell, California: The Academy Press, 1978. 172 pp. Publisher, 515 Westchester Drive, Campbell, 95008. \$13.50.
- Brown, James L. *Mussel Slough Tragedy*. Second edition, Hanford, California: Oldtown News, 1980. Publisher, 308 N. Irwin Street, Hanford, 93230. \$6.00.
- Brownlow, Kevin. *Hollywood: The Pioneers*. New York: Knopf, 1980. \$20.00.
- Brueggemann, Robert. *Benecia: Portrait of an Early California Town. An Architectural History*. San Francisco: 101 Productions, 1980. Publisher, 834 Mission, San Francisco.
- California Institute of Public Affairs.

- California Environmental Directory: A Guide to Organizations and Resources*. Third edition. Completely revised. Claremont: California Institute of Public Affairs, an affiliate of the Claremont Colleges, 1980. 180 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711.
- Castillo-Tsuchida, Adelaida. *Filipino Migrants in San Diego*. San Diego: Printed by the author, 1980. Publisher, 360 Magellon, San Diego, 92154. \$5.00.
- Ceplair, Larry & Steve Englund. *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics in the Film Community*. New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 1980. \$17.50.
- Clar, C. Raymond. *Folsom to Sacramento: Some Forgotten History About a "Model Highway."* Carmichael: Sacramento Corral of Westerners, 1980. 41 pp. (Publication number four) Publisher, 4235 Oak Knoll Drive, Carmichael, 95608. \$2.50.
- Clarke, James Mitchell. *The Life and Adventures of John Muir*. San Diego: The Work Shop, 1980. 362 pp. \$14.95.
- Cox, James R. (ed.) *Classics in the Literature of Mountaineering and Mountain Travel from the Francis P. Farquhar Collection of Mountaineering Literature: An Annotated Bibliography*. Pasadena: Castle Press, 1980. 84 pp. Publisher, Library Accounting Section, University Research Library, University of California, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, 90024. \$25.00.
- Daniels, Douglas Henry. *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980. \$17.50.
- Davis, Reda. *The Life of Marietta Stow, Cooperator*. Pt. Pinos Editions, 1969. Reprinted 1980. 244 pp.
- Donovan, M. Suzanne. *San Francisco Neighborhood and Ethnic Newspapers*. San Francisco: Media Alliance, 1980. Publisher, Bldg. 314, Fort Mason, San Francisco, 94123. \$2.25.
- Dorn, Norman K. *The Complete Films of William S. Hart: A Pictorial Record*. New York: Dover Press, 1980. \$8.95.
- Engbeck, Joseph H. Jr. *State Parks of California*. Photographs by Philip Hyde.

- Oakland: California State Parks Foundation, 1980. 128 pp. Publisher, 1706 Broadway, Room 610, Oakland, 94612. \$50.00.
- Folsom Prison: *Early History - Photos of Cells, Trains, Inmates, Quarry*. Sacramento: Californiana Press, 1980. Publisher, Box 22246, Sacramento, 95822. \$3.00.
- Ford, Robert S. *Red Trains Remembered*. Glendale: Interurbans, 1980. 120 pp. \$16.95.
- Hansen, Jay. *The Other Guide to San Francisco: Or 105 Things To Do After You've Taken the Cable Car to Fisherman's Wharf*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980. \$5.95.
- Hilleary, Roger. *A Grand Place: John Steinbeck's Homes in Pacific Grove and Monterey*. Monterey: Hilleary & Petko, 1979. 23 pp. Dawson's Book Shop, 535 North Larchmont Blvd., Los Angeles, 90004. \$12.00.
- Hodgson, Maya. *Cover to Cover: A Field Guide to San Francisco Bay Area Bookstores*. Palo Alto: Worden Fraser Pub., 1980. \$6.95.
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- Letters of Dr. James Delavan from California to the Adrian, Michigan, Expositor, 1850-1856*. Mt. Pleasant, Michigan: John Cumming, 1980. Publisher, 464 Hiawatha Dr., Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858. \$10.00.
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- Marks, Lillian. *Saul Marks and the Plantin Press: The Life and Work of a Singular Man*. Los Angeles: Plantin Press, 1980. 217 pp. Publisher, 1052 Manzanita Street, Los Angeles, 90029. \$85.00.
- Martin, Jay. *Always Merry and Bright: The Life of Henry Miller*. Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1980. 560 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 2068, Santa Barbara, 93120. \$15.00.
- Mrs. C. F. Lott's *Receipts*. Oroville: Butte County Historical Society, 1980. (Replica of the original handwritten recipe book belonging to Susan Lott and dated 1857). Publisher: P.O. Box 2195, Oroville, 95965. \$5.00.
- Murphy, Marion Fisher. *Seven Stars for California*. Sonoma: Author, 1980. Publisher, Marion F. Murphy, 762 Juniper Court, Sonoma, 95476. \$3.50.
- Newton, Janet. *Jack London's Boyhood in Livermore*. Livermore Heritage Guild, 1980. 9 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 961, Livermore, 94550. \$1.50.
- Paizis, Suzanne. *Getting Her Elected: A Political Woman's Handbook*. Sacramento: Creative Editions, 1980. Publisher, P.O. Box 22246, Sacramento, 95822. \$5.95.
- Patterson, Tom. *Riverman Desertman*. Rubidoux: Riverside County Historical Commission Press, 1980. (First Published by Riverside Press-Enterprise Co, 1963). Publisher, Historical Commission Press, c/o History Division, Riverside County Parks, P.O. Box 3507, Rubidoux, 92519. Available in a special hardcover collector's edition, signed and numbered by Tom Patterson. Limited to one hundred copies. \$10.00 (cloth); \$7.00 (paper).
- Pourade, Richard F. *The Colorful Butterfield Overland Stage*. With paintings by Marjorie Reed Creese. New revised edition. La Jolla: Copley Books, 1980. 52 pp. Publisher, 7776 Ivanhoe Ave., La Jolla, 92037. \$6.50.
- Putnam, Jackson K. *Modern California Politics, 1917-1980*. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1980. 102 pp.
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- Stuhl, Edward. *Wildflowers of Mount*

- Shasta. Klamath Falls, Oregon: Clementine Publishing Company, 1980. Publisher, c/o Clement Printing Inc., 123 North Spring Street, Klamath Falls, OR 97601. \$33.00 (cloth); \$27.00 (paper).
- Swearingen, Roger G. *The Prose Writings of Robert Louis Stevenson: A Guide*. St. Helena: Silverado Museum, 1980. Publisher, P.O. Box 409, St. Helena, 94574. \$29.50.
- Taylor, Ruth Ellen. *Legacy: The Orange County Story*. Santa Ana: The Register, 1980. 224 pp. Publisher, Santa Ana.
- Thayer, James Bradley. *A Western Journey with Mr. Emerson*. San Francisco: The Book Club of California, 1980. \$20.00 (for members only).
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- Whipple, Fred H. *The Electric Railway*. Perris: Orange Empire Railway Museum, 1980. 308 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 548, Perris, 92370. \$9.00.
- Whitehead, Richard S. *An Archeological and Restoration Study of Mission La Purisima Concepcion*. Reports written for the National Park Service by Fred C. Hageman and Russell C. Ewing. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Trust for Historic Preservation, 1980. 307 pp.
- Wilburn, Jack. *Wild Animals of California and the West: Mountains and Desert 1*. Sacramento: Creative Editions, 1980. Publisher, Dept.. F79, P.O. Box 22246, Sacramento, 95822. \$7.95.
- Williams, Alice Davis. *Davis - 100 Years Ago*. Pacific Grove: Boxwood Press, 1980. 64 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 444, Pacific Grove, 93950. \$4.95.
- Williams, Cecil. *I'm Alive*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 214 pp. \$10.00.
- Winslow, Carleton M. and Nickola L. Frye. *The Enchanted Hill: The Story of Hearst Castle at San Simeon*. Los Angeles, Rosebud Books. 64 pp. Publisher, 8777 Lookout Mountain Ave., Los Angeles, 90046.
- Yosemite Calendar*, with words by John Muir and photographs of old Yosemite. Yosemite: Flying Spur Press, 1980. Publisher, Box 278, Yosemite, 95389. \$3.50.
- Young, Betty Lou. *Our First Century: The Los Angeles Athletic Club, 1880-1980*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles Club Press, 1980. 176 pp. Publisher, 431 West 7th Street, Los Angeles, 90014.



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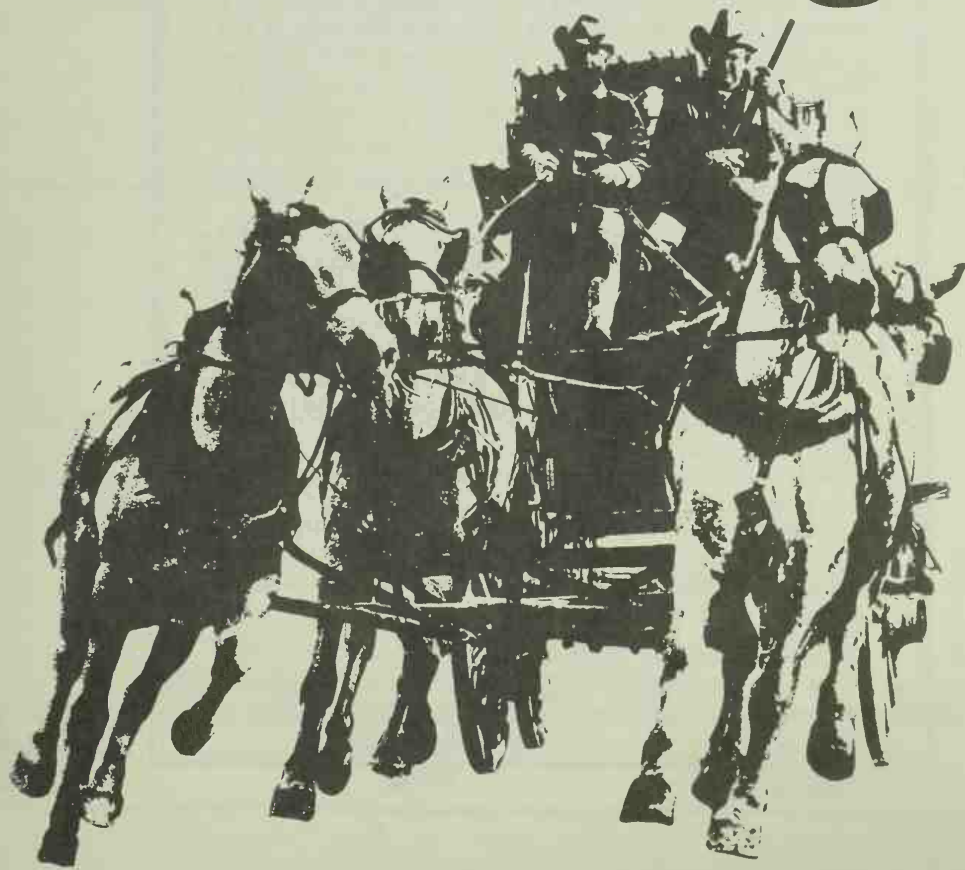
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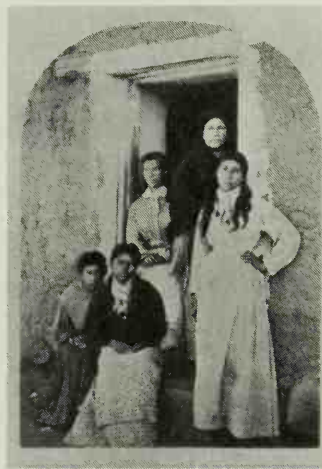
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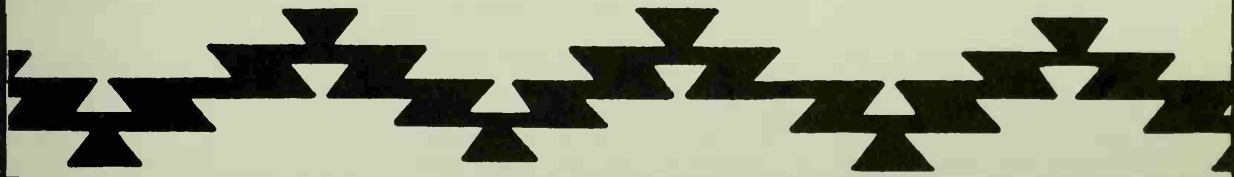
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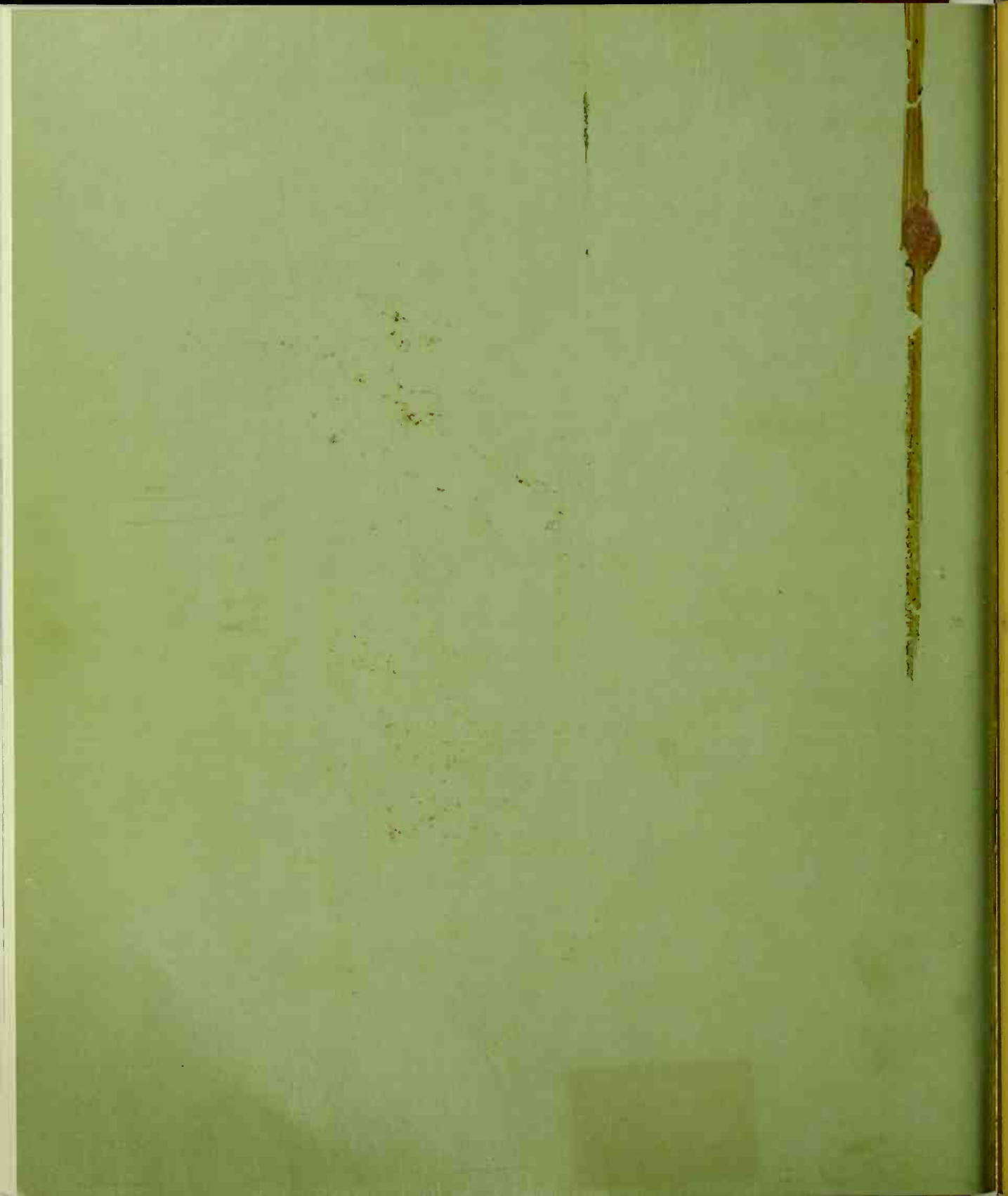
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California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society
winter 1980/81



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COVER

A scene in a Gold Rush restaurant about 1849. Forty
Niners and tourists visiting San Francisco at this time
found hotel and restaurant food to be generally good
although the prices were astronomical by East Coast
standards. Meals also lacked variety because many
items were just unavailable. Potatoes, for example,
were quite scarce. The pictorial article beginning on
page 314 further examines what else travelers were
likely to find in Gold Rush San Francisco.

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HERMIONE DAY

"When we consider how many avenues of employment there are for man . . . there are no bounds set to his energy or enterprise . . . but in all this vast arena there is no room for woman; the avenues where she may labor are *few*, and at best *undesirable*."

When Hermione Day of San Francisco penned this editorial in November 1858, she forgot to mention that one employment open to women — if they dared to chance it — was publishing. She successfully edited *The Hesperian*, a literary magazine for women, from 1858 to 1862. The journal measures up well to the standards of the two rival periodicals of the day, the celebrated *Golden Era* and *Hutchings' California Magazine*, in providing subscribers with excellent reading. Among contributors were the humorist Alonzo Delano (Old Block), historian-novelist Frances Fuller Barritt (later Victor), editor Calvin McDonald, reformer Eliza Farnham, and botanist Albert Kellogg. In addition to material of traditional interest to women — home, children, fashion and food — *The Hesperian* had fiction, poetry, a series on natural history, and articles on a wide range of topics, including capital punishment, physical exercise and health, the Indians of California, and the moral aspect of war. Mrs. Day herself contributed a number of biographies of California pioneers.

Marion Tinling was for many years on the research staff of the Henry E. Huntington Library. She served as historical editor for the National Historical Publications Commission's studies of the first federal congress. Her publications include three volumes of diaries transcribed from the eighteenth century shorthand of William Byrd of Westover, Virginia, and a definitive edition of the correspondence of the three William Byrds of Westover. Now a full-time writer in the field of women's history, Mrs. Tinling lives in Carmichael, California.

For the first couple of issues Mrs. F.H. Day was named on the masthead as "Associate Editress," the Editress being Mrs. A.M. Schultz. But Schultz soon resigned, due to ill health, and Day was firmly in charge. For almost a year the paper was published out of cramped quarters which served as office, editorial rooms, and home for Mrs. Day, her husband — Franklin Henry Day, a bank clerk — and her nine-year-old daughter, Clara. In 1859 she was able to move to more adequate quarters on Montgomery Street between Sutter and Post. The entire staff of the publication consisted of Mrs. Day alone until the middle of 1860 when a business manager was added.

The editors began with many reprinted articles from eastern sources: an article on Harriet Hosmer, the sculptor, by Lydia Maria Child; Fanny Fern's remarks on husbands; and Mrs. Swisshelm on modern dancing. An unsigned editorial by a Californian, possibly Day, stated that "California has proved to the world, that where man *can* go, women *should* go . . . The more dangers and difficulties, the more trials and temptations with which he is surrounded, the more he *needs* the sustaining, strengthening, purifying influence of home." After the first issues, however, California writers, including many women, began contributing their poems, stories, and essays. Theodore Hittell, Cora Wilburn, Mary Morris Kirke, Mrs. S.M. Clarke, Mrs. James Neall, Fanny Green McDougall, and Anne K.H. Fader, "the poet of Trinity County," were among them. A children's department made its appearance. Recipes for gooseberry champagne, strawberry preserves and less exotic foods were published.

With the second volume the format changed to a smaller page size and it was embellished with draw-

and the HESPERIAN

ings by the Nahl brothers. Engraved titles, portraits, and fashion plates enlivened the pages. The botanical and ornithological essays were illustrated with excellent drawings, some reproduced in color. Engraved plates were imported from the east. The magazine won the First Premium Award for book printing at the California State Fair in 1859. Its circulation, according to the editor, reached from California to Maine and Minnesota.

Although Day had agents in many towns, she added to her editorial duties by traveling into the Sierra towns — Sacramento, Marysville, Oroville, Nevada City, Columbia, Stockton, and Sonora — to solicit subscriptions, meet her contributors, and write chatty reports of her travels. No wonder that she requested her writers “to make their writing as plain as possible, so that as we hurry from one duty to another we may read without much squinting of the visual organs.”

In one of the first numbers the journal was addressed to Woman: “Her home is at once her Eden and her Empire, and we would not tempt her to forsake that holy province for the untried fields of fame.” This, however, is followed by a plea for contributions, particularly from women writers. As soon as Mrs. Day became sole editor, articles championing equality for women, principally in the realm of employment, began to appear. When the city of San Francisco cut the pay of women school teachers, Day was indignant. “If the finances of the city are so low as to require a reduction of expenses, we shall raise no objection if the wages of the male teachers are cut down in the same proportion as the females.” In another issue she wrote an impassioned plea against giving men the jobs in education hitherto

held by women, and she exhorted parents and working women to protest this insidious attack on them. To teachers she said, “Where is your womanly dignity, that you do not stand forth in one united sisterhood, and with one voice enter your mighty protest against this act of oppression, injustice, and wrong?”

Day did not, however, join the ranks of the suffragists. She agreed with Eliza Farnham, then a resident of California, whose views on women appeared first in *The Hesperian*. Far from being man’s equal, Farnham claimed, woman was his superior, mentally, physically, and morally; she was created for a sphere higher and more refined than that of the male, whose role was to protect her.

Day’s most important writings for the paper were her biographies of California pioneers, including Thomas O. Larkin, Mrs. Larkin, Peter Lassen, George C. Yount, and others. Many were based on interviews with the biographees and their friends. She had been working on these for several years before the newspaper started, and intended publishing a book about the pioneers. She felt herself a thorough Californian and railed against eastern papers who gave a false view of California life and culture.

She was especially proud of the essays on plants and birds and disappointed that so few readers remarked on their excellence. Many of them were written by the distinguished founder of the California Academy of Sciences, Albert Kellogg. Day was pleased when an English botanist wrote to praise the series and to ask for plant specimens.

It is of interest that stories by Frances Fuller Barritt Victor appeared in *The Hesperian* some years before she moved to the west coast and twenty years before



Hesperian cover: "The three maidens may be thought to represent the women of our day, who have indeed put forth their hands to appropriate some of the Golden Apples of Literature."

H.H. Bancroft spotted her talent and recruited her as one of his historical researchers.

Who was Hermione Day? Ella Mighels gives no information about her in *The Story of the Files*. Franklin Walker's *San Francisco's Literary Frontier* barely mentions her. None of the standard biographical works include her. Her own editorials reveal an educated, literate woman with a strong religious faith and a sturdy belief in the competence and creativity of women. "We acknowledge no limits to woman's sphere, but believe that she should be permitted to occupy any position which her intellect, education and talents fit her for."

Day's own "Editor's Table" offers tantalizing glimpses into her personal life. "We are not a widow," she assures us. "We have one of the *best* better halves this side of the Atlantic." She mentions having been engaged for some years in a business (unspecified) more arduous than editing. She states that she is perfectly healthy, and to prove it adds that with the help of her daughter she does all her own housekeeping.

For the first six months of 1860 she left the journal under the supervision of Dr. John A. Veatch and went to New York on business connected with the paper. She made a nostalgic visit to her old home in Buffalo, where only a sister, married but childless, remained of her family. She sorted through papers left in her father's desk — "old musty papers bearing the handwriting of such men as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Commodore H. Perry, and many others." She brought back with her a hitherto unpublished poem by her father and printed it in *The Hesperian* under his name, Sheldon Ball. With this clue, it is possible to unravel some of the threads of her life story.

Hermione Day was born in Buffalo, July 18, 1826, the daughter of Sheldon and Jane Sterrett Ball. The family had previously lived in Erie, Pennsylvania.

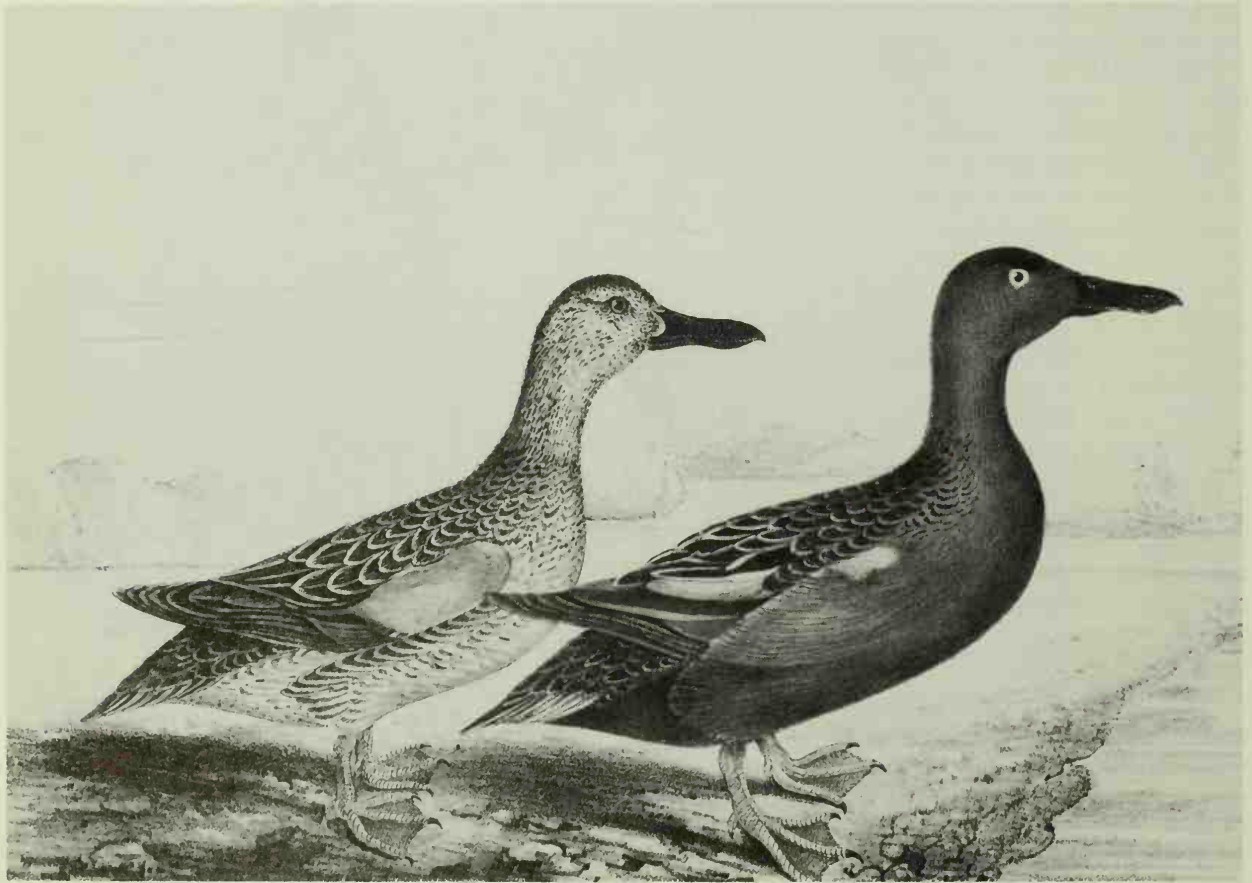
What the well-dressed California woman wore might be determined from Hesperian fashion plates offering the latest designs.



Sheldon Ball wrote and published a pamphlet, *Buffalo in 1825*, for which he drew and engraved a view and a map. His pamphlet was reprinted by the Buffalo Historical Society in 1879, including a letter from his son, the Honorable Gideon Ball of Erie.¹

After the death of her father in 1838, Hermione may have been sent to live with Gideon, fifteen years her senior, in Erie, for she was living there when she was married, on January 4, 1842, to Fidelio D. Parke.² Oddly enough, she does not mention her brother at all in her report of the 1860 visit, though he was very much alive and serving in the Pennsylvania Assembly.³

A color lithograph of the Red Teal served as an illustration in Volume II (May 1859).



Hermione's daughter Clara was born in Buffalo about 1850,⁴ and within a year or two they were in California. In December, 1859, she wrote that she had lived in the state for "nearly eight years." As she also mentions having been in the Sandwich Islands, she and the infant may have made the journey from the east around the Horn and via Hawaii. In 1854 she was the proprietress of Brannan House (a boarding

house?) at Bush and Sansome streets, San Francisco, using her maiden name, Mrs. Hermione Ball. On the opposite corner, working as bookkeeper for Page, Bacon and Company, was a young man about her own age and hailing from her home town, Buffalo — Franklin Henry Day. He was born in Gowanda, Cattaraugus County, New York, on January 5, 1827, moving later to Buffalo.⁵ Sometime between 1854

Plates, some in color, illustrated articles by Albert Kellogg, botanist of the Academy of Sciences.
From Volume III (December 1859).

and 1858 the two New Yorkers were married and in the 1860 census they and ten-year-old Clara were listed as living at 6 Montgomery Street. F.H. Day wrote an autobiography in 1903, in which he tells us that he arrived in California August 16, 1853. He lists every firm for which he worked and every Masonic step he went through, but his domestic experience is summed up in a single sentence: "[It] has been particularly unfortunate, having been deprived by death of two wives and two boys."⁶

In 1861 Hermione Day announced with joy the birth of a son, Frank Ball Day, and four months later sadly reported the infant's death.⁷ Her faithful readers sent her letters of condolence and Cora Wilburn wrote a poem, "Little Frank, A Tribute of Affection to His Parents."

On her return from New York in June of 1860, Day had initiated a new feature, which, she boasted, was provided by no other magazine: each issue included a full-size dress pattern imported from Madame Ellen Demorest of New York, who had just invented the tissue paper pattern. Mrs. Day also opened a branch of Madame Demorest's Emporium of Fashion at 111 Montgomery Street. How she managed to run a first-class monthly magazine, keep a shop, write articles, and see to her housekeeping is something many career women will find incredible. In addition she announced in 1860 that *The Hesperian* was now doing job printing.

In the spring of 1862 Hermione left San Francisco, apparently intending a lengthy absence. "The declining health of our only remaining child," she explained, "makes change of air necessary, and we have determined to go to Europe as the best place for the development of the work which we have in hand." The Fashion Emporium was transferred to others and the editorial chair to Elizabeth T. Schenck. The editorial "we" did not include Franklin Henry Day.

Mrs. Schenck — who later organized the first





MRS T. O. LARKIN.

(Expressly for the Hesperian.)

A portrait by the Nahl Brothers of Mrs. Rachel Hobson Larkin (1807-1873) illustrated Hermione Day's biographical sketch in Volume II of *The Hesperian* (May 1859).

woman suffrage association in the city⁸ — continued the magazine for a few months, when she relinquished the editorship to the Rev. J.D. Strong and *The Hesperian* ceased to be a woman's journal. In June 1863 the name was changed to *The Pacific Monthly*, and the editor was Lile Lester.⁹ In one of her last contributions to the magazine, "Reminiscences of Travel," Day lamented the state of literary affairs in California: "Consider how much talent lays latent in California, how poor our State literature is, to what it ought to be, to what it *would* be, if the talent now unrecognized, and unappreciated, were called into action and remunerated."

Day had applied for a passport in August of 1862. From it can be learned that she was five feet, two and a half inches tall, had a brunette complexion, black hair, hazel eyes, an oval face and pointed nose and chin. She died in Paris, July 3, 1865, at the age of thirty-eight.¹⁰ No details of Day's death are given in her obituary, nor is the fate of young Clara known. Her old friend, Calvin McDonald, reported that "like her nice little magazine, Mrs. Day is dead."¹¹

The illustration on page 285 is from the CHS Library. All others are reproduced through the courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento, California.

Notes

1. Passport application for Mrs. F.H. Day and daughter, August 5, 1862, Records of the United States Department of State, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as Passport Application. Sheldon Ball, *Buffalo in 1825: Containing Historical and Statistical Sketches, Illustrated with a Map of the Village and View of the Harbor* (Buffalo: Published by S. Ball, 1825); reprinted in Buffalo Historical Society Publications, I (1879); pp. 139-52. *Nelson's Biographical Dictionary and Historical Reference Book of Erie County* (Erie: S.B. Nelson, 1896), sub Gideon Ball.
2. *Erie Gazette* (Pennsylvania), January 6, 1842.

3. *History of Erie County* (Chicago: Warner, Beers & Company, 1884). About 1836 he was elected clerk of the Erie town council, and at the time of her editorship he was a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. He served as Paymaster to the Army during the Civil War, and in 1869 was elected Pennsylvania State Treasurer.
4. Passport Application.
5. Franklin Henry Day, *Autobiography* (San Francisco: Eastman & Co., 1903).
6. Buffalo, N.Y., 1850 Census Records; Buffalo Directories, 1848-1853. Register of California Society Sons of the American Revolution. Franklin Ellis, *History of Cattaraugus County, New York* (Philadelphia: L.H. Everts, 1879).
7. Vital Records from the *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, Genealogical Records Committee, California State Society Daughters of the American Revolution, 1962: "Frank Bell [sic] Day, infant son of Mr. and Mrs. F.H. Day, aged 4 months and 2 days," died in San Francisco, 1861.
8. Elizabeth C. Stanton and others, *History of Woman Suffrage*, III (Rochester: Susan B. Anthony, 1881), pp. 750 ff.
9. The California Historical Society has a file of *The Hesperian*, Vol. I, No. 1 (May 1858) to Vol. X, No. 1 (May 1863) and one issue of its successor, *Pacific Monthly*, Vol. X, No. 8 (January 1864), edited by Lile Lester.
10. *San Francisco Daily Bulletin*, August 20, 1865 (Genealogical Records Committee, DAR). The obituary in *Alta* adds "Buffalo and New York papers copy."
11. Ella Sterling Mighels, *The Story of the Files* (San Francisco: Issued under the auspices of the World's Fair Commission, Columbia Exposition, 1893).

THE RECALL OF Mayor Frank L. Shaw

A REVISION

This is a revisionist interpretation of the recall of Mayor Frank L. Shaw of Los Angeles in 1938. Historians for too long have accepted the reformers' account of urban politics, and it is necessary to apply the same scrutiny to the reformers that they applied to the bosses and the machine. This particularly holds true concerning Mayor Shaw, the first, and only, mayor of a major American city to be recalled. Reformers claimed that he was a corrupt machine politician in league with the underworld, but they failed to mention that they themselves engaged in illegal activities and that they, too, were allied with the underworld. The reformers, also, opposed the New Deal, organized labor, and racial minorities. In contrast, Shaw brought the New Deal to Los Angeles, the Central Labor Council endorsed him during the recall, and racial and ethnic minorities supported him throughout his public career. These discrepancies, and more, abound throughout the reformers' account, and in order to set the record straight, it is necessary to shift the spotlight away

from Shaw and to focus it on the real culprits — the reformers themselves.

The historiography of urban politics traditionally has been the reformers' bailiwick. Through their voluminous publications, reformers not only have proven that they can fight city hall, but that they can respond to William Marcy's famous dictum, "To the Victors belong the Spoils" with, "Ah, yes, but history belongs to the reformers." The truth of this statement is no more evident than in the historiography of Shaw's recall. Clifford Clinton, the leader of the recall, and his wife determined the direction for the standard interpretation when they published their respective memoirs in *Liberty* and *True Story* magazines, and when another reformer, Guy W. Finney, followed with *Angel City in Turmoil*.¹ All three accounts were highly biased in the reformers'

Fred W. Viehe is a Ph.D. candidate in urban history at the University of California at Santa Barbara and is currently writing his dissertation on the "Los Angeles Political Machine."



Los Angeles Mayor Frank L. Shaw, the first, and only, mayor of a major American city to be recalled.

favor and they described the recall as an apocalyptic struggle between altruistic reformers and the hideous Shaw machine.

A far less emotional account appeared when Francis M. Carney presented his interpretation of the recall in *The Annals*.² On the one hand, Carney portrayed Shaw as a bungling mayor who ran a bungling police department, all of whom were supported by the *Los Angeles Times*; and, on the other hand, Carney argued that Shaw was recalled because the *Times* tried "to keep in power a hireling city administration."³ Nowhere in any of the accounts is there a hint of impropriety by the reformers. Shaw bears the burden for his recall because he was either a corrupt or a bungling mayor, or because he ran a hireling administration.

The charge that Shaw was a corrupt machine politician is typical of the misleading accusations made by the reformers. Shaw was not a machine politician in the usual sense of the word, since the Los Angeles machine existed in appearance, not in fact.

Its members, the Power Bureau, the Central Labor Council, and the Fire and Police Protective League, maintained their own separate, and distinct, precinct organizations,⁴ but they never formed a hierarchy nor a central organization.

In fact, the machine had such little hold over its members that they did not necessarily support the same candidates. In 1933, for example, the Central Labor Council supported Shaw's election as mayor along with the other members of the alleged machine, but in 1937, the Council withdrew its support because Shaw refused to pay union wages on WPA projects.⁵ These characteristics belonged, not to a machine, but rather, to a social welfare coalition whose loyalty, in turn, belonged not to Shaw but to the ideals of municipal ownership, organized labor, and the nation's first racially integrated police and fire departments.⁶

A similar distortion exists in the reformers' concept of the underworld. They claimed that Guy McAfee was the "Capone of L.A." and that Bob Gans was the "Slot-Machine King," but even the Municipal League admitted that both Gans and McAfee were bailbondsmen who engaged in other unethical, but not illegal, activities.⁷ McAfee, a former vice officer, was reputed to be both a big-time gambler and a wealthy philanthropist who resided in the fashionable Biltmore Hotel.⁸ A similar paradox surrounded the reputation of Bob Gans. While it was true that Gans was the president of a gambling syndicate, the California Amusement Machine Operators Association (CAMOA), it was equally true that he was an active member of the Jewish community and sat on the Executive Committee of the Mount Sinai Hospital.⁹ When placed in this light, the Gans-McAfee underworld hardly appears as far "under" as the reformers claimed; and if they contributed \$15,000 to Shaw's campaign it certainly was not a sign of malfeasance. In the words of Assistant U.S.

*Shaw was not against labor per se,
but he was against communist-inspired
labor organizations . . .*

Attorney Hugh Dickson, "Any citizen," including a gambler, "may contribute to a campaign fund."¹⁰

The reformers' other charges of corruption were equally erroneous. Throughout his public career, Shaw opposed the patent paving trust, and even the reform-minded 1934 grand jury admitted that the city council, not the mayor, was responsible for its use.¹¹ Instead of condoning corruption, Shaw sought to eliminate it. He began the professionalization of the police when he inaugurated the Police Training Division, the "West Point of the West," in 1938,¹² and he led the fight to make Los Angeles the first city requiring all its employees, including department heads, to be certified by civil service — quite an achievement for an alleged machine boss!¹³ Instead of running a corrupt administration, Shaw did as much, if not more, than previous mayors to eliminate corruption, and the reformers' accusations to the contrary were, in the words of Judge Charles S. Burnell, "just a nasty underhanded attempt to throw mud on the administration of Mayor Shaw."¹⁴

The second accusation, that Shaw was a bungling mayor, is totally without foundation. Carney reached this conclusion after a cursory examination of Shaw's reaction to the bombing of Harry Raymond, the reformers' chief investigator, by Captain Earl Kynette of the Intelligence squad. Carney reasoned that Shaw bungled because he defended police chief James E. Davis who, in turn, defended

Kynette. The obvious implication was that Shaw also defended Kynette and the Raymond bombing but the record indicates otherwise. In no instance did Shaw impede the investigation against Kynette, and when the latter was convicted, Shaw immediately, and without hesitation, disbanded the Intelligence squad and launched an investigation of the police department.¹⁵ Carney also failed to mention that the city council refused Shaw's request for the dismissal of a police commissioner identified with the underworld.¹⁶ These actions hardly suggest that Shaw was a bungling mayor; rather, they indicate that after the Raymond bombing, Shaw lost the ability to influence events beyond his immediate control.

Finally, we come to the third accusation that Shaw ran "a hireling city administration which diligently protected business interests and kept taxes low and whose police fought ruthlessly to keep out 'Red agitators' (labor-union organizers) and 'welfare chiselers.'"¹⁷ There is little truth and much fiction in this statement. Shaw's veto of a stringent anti-picketing ordinance in January, 1938, hardly protected business interests and many felt, including the Central Labor Council, that the recall was business' way of seeking revenge.¹⁸

Shaw also had no hand in keeping taxes low. The city charter specifically prohibited any tax increase beyond \$1.25 per \$100 valuation, and because of this requirement, Los Angeles lost 40% of its revenue during the depression.¹⁹ The paucity of funds, though, did not affect the city's high standards of efficiency, and in 1935 the fire department received honorable mention in the National Fire Prevention Contest resulting in a city-wide reduction of insurance rates.²⁰

Shaw's handling of police-labor relations, on the other hand, is more difficult to evaluate. While the reformers portrayed Shaw as an anti-labor mayor their contention has difficulty standing beside the

previously mentioned veto of the anti-picketing ordinance, and the fact that the Central Labor Council, AFL, supported Shaw during the recall as well as during his initial election in 1933. Shaw was not against labor *per se*, but he was against communist-inspired labor organizations, and it was his firm belief that the CIO was a communist-front because Phillip M. "Slim" Connolly, secretary of the Industrial Union Council, was a party member.²¹ This situation reached a climax during the lengthy, and brutal, 1934 Pacific maritime strike when Shaw supported the AFL's International Longshoreman's Association while the reformers welcomed the CIO with open arms.

But because Shaw was a militant anti-communist, it does not follow that he was the darling of the reactionary *Los Angeles Times*. The truth is that the *Times* bitterly opposed Shaw's most significant achievements, the elimination of all private power companies from within the city limits and the introduction of the New Deal to Los Angeles. Shaw raised the Bureau of Power and Light to the zenith of its influence in city politics, and he led the fight to make the Power Bureau the sole distributor of electricity within Los Angeles, an achievement which attracted the attention of the public ownership group in Washington, D.C.²²

Shaw also irritated the *Times* by keeping his promise to bring the New Deal to Los Angeles. Immediately after his election in 1933, Shaw traveled to Washington and returned with \$3 million of an eventual \$100 million in federal funds for WPA and other New Deal projects.²³ The *Times*, as well as the reformers, castigated these achievements, claiming that Shaw used them to build a "towering political machine" whose influence "has been extending beyond the city limits and now reaches into State affairs."²⁴

While the *Times* opposed most of Shaw's administration, it found it expedient to endorse him for

Shaw also irritated the Times by keeping his promise to bring the New Deal to Los Angeles.

re-election in 1937 and during the recall because he was far more experienced in urban affairs than either of his opponents. John Anson Ford, Shaw's 1937 opponent, was a liberal and sincere reformer who had spent a scant two years as a County Supervisor before seeking the city's top job.²⁵ Fletcher Bowron, Shaw's recall opponent and successor, on the other hand, spent most of his public life prior to 1938 as a shy superior court judge.²⁶ In contrast, Shaw spent eight years as a city councilman and a county supervisor before becoming mayor.²⁷ The *Times* opposed his election in 1933, but it supported him against Ford and Bowron because, quite frankly, Shaw was the most experienced candidate. The "Grand Old Party (GOP) — Big Business — *Los Angeles Times* cabal" that Carney claims was not "running things" after 1938, did not run them during the Shaw administration either.²⁸

The reformers, contrary to the impression presented by the standard interpretation, agreed with the *Times* on almost every issue concerning the Shaw administration. The usually liberal minded John Anson Ford, for example, condemned the WPA as a "dole"²⁹ while the Minute Men, an association of the past presidents of the Junior Chamber of Commerce, demanded that unemployment relief be denied to men who refused to work as scabs at strike-bound plants.³⁰

The Municipal League also expressed a similar

anti-labor attitude when it echoed the *Times* charge that Shaw was building the largest machine in the city's history. League president Anthony Pratt was "convinced of corruption"³¹ when the city, faced with declining revenues, directly hired union labor instead of administering costly civil service exams to meet its employment needs.³² But when this issue was resolved to the League's satisfaction, all of Shaw's appointees proved their proficiency by passing the required test.³³ If Shaw had a machine, and there is little evidence that he did, it certainly was a competent one.

The city's moral reformers also opposed Shaw because, unlike the *Times*, he refused to join their campaign against the "allies of liquor."³⁴ The Anti-Saloon League, seeking to regain the offensive after the recent repeal of prohibition, demanded that Shaw close beer parlors because in those "stink holes of vice . . . Mexicans, Negroes, and white men and women drink and dance together with scores of children watching at the door."³⁵

The obvious racist innuendos reflected in the above statement underscored another deep-seated fear held by the reformers, namely that Catholics (i.e., Mexicans) were responsible for the repeal of prohibition and that blacks supported organized vice.³⁶ The fact that Shaw openly courted both groups, and refused to close beer parlors, confirmed in the eyes of the city's moral guardians that the mayor supported, and was supported by, the worst elements in society.³⁷ It was largely for this reason that the reformers easily believed the rumor that Shaw received \$15,000 from the underworld, and in order to fight this contagion, they launched a recall campaign early in 1934.

The 1934 recall campaign was the latest in a long series of recall attempts where reformers leveled the charge of police-protected vice at an incumbent mayor. Ever since 1909, when reformers forced Mayor Harper to resign by publishing a list of his

bordellos, the accusation of police-protected vice had become an unbearable political albatross in a city which boasted the largest WCTU membership in the nation. By the mid-1920s Reverend Robert P. "Bob" Shuler forged this sentiment into a moral reform movement which made him the "Boss of L.A." by the end of the decade.³⁸ Shuler drove Mayor Cryer from office by threatening him with a recall in 1927,³⁹ and he was given credit for the election of Mayor Porter in 1929. With Shuler in full command, a recall mania swept through Los Angeles resulting in the recall of three superior court judges in 1932. Ironically, even Shuler's hand-picked mayor faced the prospect of being recalled that same year, but Porter beat back the attempt only to be defeated for reelection by Frank L. Shaw in 1933.⁴⁰

It was not long before Shuler launched a recall campaign against Shaw with the wholly unwarranted charge that "there is more vice, more crime, more debauchery, more graft in this city than there ever was before in its history."⁴¹ But after the Porter fiasco, Shuler's influence was declining, and the leadership of the city's moral reform movement passed into other hands. One new light was the Reverend Roy Smith, pastor of the First Methodist Church, who also replaced Shuler as the president of the Anti-Saloon League, and another was John Anson Ford, the newly elected supervisor from the Hollywood district who planned to challenge Shaw in the 1937 mayoralty campaign. But the man who eventually inherited Shuler's torch was Fletcher Bowron, a relatively unknown superior court judge who at forty-seven believed that the only way to fight corruption was with an "honest grand jury."⁴²

In 1934, Bowron put his belief into action, and with the assistance of the Municipal League, the Minute Men and their investigators, he ordered the grand jury to delve into Shaw's personal finances for that tainted \$15,000.⁴³ The reformers hoped to use

*Clifford Clinton picketing the
Los Angeles Police Department.*

*Below, Clinton broadcasts an
edition of "The People's Voice."*

the grand jury's evidence to promote their recall campaign, but the state supreme court ruined their plans — as well as the recall — when it declared that Bowron's method of jury selection was unconstitutional.⁴⁴ The court found that Bowron used his views of communism, prohibition, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Upton Sinclair as the criteria for selecting his "honest grand jury."

The reformers' interpretation of this episode is considerably distorted, and unlike the supreme court which reprimanded Bowron as an "unscrupulous judge,"⁴⁵ they hailed him as "an able and honest jurist."⁴⁶ This incident also illustrates another distinct characteristic concerning the reformers, namely, they had no qualms about misusing the judicial process as long as it served the cause of reform. This was not politics-as-usual in Los Angeles and succeeding grand juries were warned not to act as "a political organization" nor to be "influenced by political pressure, expediency, personal ambition or personal political aspirations."⁴⁷ Bowron, on the other hand, ignored these instructions and he continued to appoint his political proteges but these tactics met with little success until Bowron "slipped the name of Clifford E. Clinton into the panel of the 1937 grand jury."⁴⁸

Clinton tried, without success, to recreate another crusading grand jury in the image of the 1934 body, and to use its investigative powers to provide ammunition for Ford's campaign in the upcoming mayoralty race. His plan faltered, though, when the other jurors refused to undertake an investigation of police-protected vice because, according to Clinton, they were interested only in fixing traffic tickets and indicting "a few Douglas Aircraft sit-down strikers."⁴⁹

Again, this account is considerably distorted, and the record indicates that at the time Clinton made his request the grand jury was busy indicting 342 sit-



Captain Earle Kynette and his son after the former was convicted of bombing Harry Raymond. Guy McAfee (below) and friend: "The Capone of L.A.?"

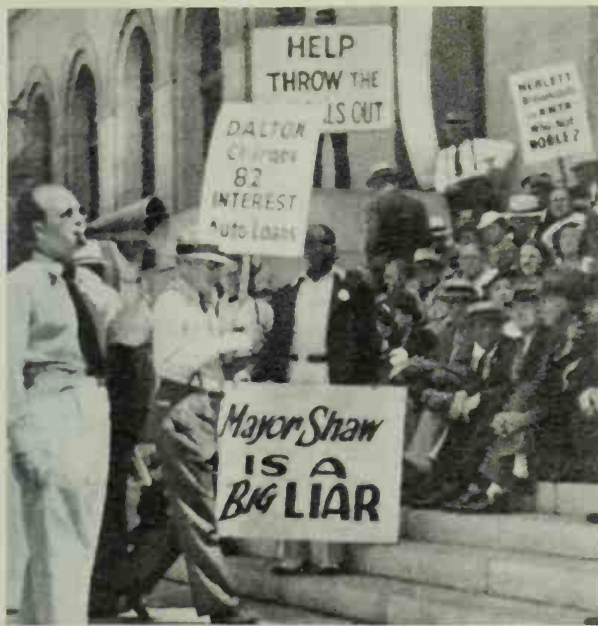


down strikers — hardly a “few” by any estimate.⁵⁰ Also, the other grand jurors in all probability were well aware of Clinton’s intent to involve them in the mayoralty campaign, and their refusal to become involved bears witness to their high respect for civic responsibility.

Without the grand jury’s investigation to substantiate the reformers’ accusations, Shaw handily defeated Ford with fifty-four percent of the vote. But the small coterie of reformers gathered around Bowron refused to acknowledge defeat, and they began laying plans to continue their campaign against Shaw’s administration. Clinton soon became the acknowledged leader of this group while Bowron remained their Svengali. The choice was a good one for Clinton, the proprietor of Clifton’s Cafeteria, became indispensable for the success of the recall. Besides being the son of missionaries and a thirty-five year old millionaire, Clinton was a political novice whose evangelical personality transformed the reformers’ campaign into a “personal crusade.”⁵¹

In June, Clinton captured the public’s attention with the astonishing announcement that he personally had discovered “1800 bookies, 600 houses of prostitution, and 200 gambling houses” operating within the city limits.⁵² According to Clinton, he, along with other interested parties, formed the Citizens Independent Vice Investigating Committee (CIVIC) and demanded that Shaw grant them vigilante authority to drive the underworld out of town.⁵³

Shaw refused, not because he was controlled by underworld forces, but because none of these vices, except prostitution, was illegal. The state had legalized teletype bookmaking in 1935⁵⁴ and the courts condoned other forms of gambling unless they were specifically outlawed.⁵⁵ Only prostitution was illegal, but it was a misdemeanor, not a felony, and



One of the many protest demonstrations against Mayor Shaw conducted at Los Angeles City Hall.

since it was in decline it hardly warranted vigilante action.⁵⁶ Shaw did, however, recognize CIVIC as an official vice investigation on July 28, and as a sign of good faith, he gave Clinton an honorary police badge.

A closer examination of CIVIC, though, reveals that it was far from being an altruistic civic organization and that its members were more interested in politics than vice. The evidence strongly suggests that CIVIC was Bowron's latest attempt to form yet another honest, albeit independent, grand jury. Bowron attended CIVIC's organizing meeting while three of his grand jury appointees, including Clinton, were charter members.⁵⁷ The remaining membership also had a long history of opposition to the Shaw administration and they were active in the Ford campaign. Besides those already mentioned, the original CIVIC membership included both Reverends Shuler and Smith, Dr. A.M. Wilkinson, a Ford appointee, and Reverend Wendall Miller and two women from his University Methodist Church.

• CIVIC's political nature became fully apparent when Clinton offered the following \$1000 reward⁵⁸

For information given me which leads to arrest and conviction of any public official . . . of this city on charges of malfeasance in public office, accepting bribes, offering immunity or participating in a crime triable as a felony in connection with his public trust.

This generous offer attracted disgruntled policemen, ex-convicts, and others who lived on either side of the law,⁵⁹ but Clinton hired them as his private investigators and illegally ordered them to tap the telephones of public officials.⁶⁰ In retrospect, it appears that Los Angeles was about to relive that tumultuous year 1934 with the mayor's complete approval, and to forestall that development, Shaw withdrew his recognition of CIVIC on August 7 on the grounds that Clinton planned to launch a recall campaign the following January.

Clinton's efforts to undermine the Shaw administration also brought him into contact with the previously mentioned Harry Raymond, who, in conjunction with A. Brigham Rose, was seeking to prove that former police commissioner, Harry Munson, was the administration's bagman. Of the three, Raymond was the more colorful (or notorious). He had been fired as the police chief of both Venice and San Diego for extortion, and he had been involved in the police-protected vice scandals during the Cryer administration.⁶¹ Raymond became Clinton's main source for his ongoing investigation, and at his suggestion, Clinton retained Rose as CIVIC's attorney.⁶²

The evidence also suggests that Raymond not only introduced Clinton to his private investigators but that he, Raymond, was the connecting link between Clinton and the Eastern syndicate. It is well-documented that Benjamin "Bugsey" Siegal, co-founder of Murder Incorporated, began his conquest of the Los Angeles underworld in September, and that one of Clinton's investigators, James Utley, subsequently became one of the city's leading racketeers.⁶³ But the most incriminating evidence comes from Clinton himself. In September, the very month Siegal began his operation, Clinton advocated the legalization of prostitution,⁶⁴ and in the following July, he received \$3800 from Utley's underworld connections.⁶⁵



*Water and Power Commissioner
Alfred Lushing was convicted
of labor racketeering.*

Such an unholy alliance, between reformers and the underworld, was not uncommon. The underworld often threatened to launch vice investigations if public officials refused to do its bidding, and Clinton was not the only reformer co-opted in this manner. In Santa Monica, the underworld threatened to unleash CIVIC co-founder Dr. Wilkinson if the mayor refused to allow gambling in that suburb,⁶⁶ and another CIVIC investigator, Aldrich Blake, apparently was engaged in a similar operation in Venice.⁶⁷ It was largely for these reasons that Shaw took the most drastic, and fatal, measure of his career and placed Clinton and the other reformers under police surveillance. To do otherwise would have been a violation of his public trust.

The public was not aware of Clinton's connection to the Eastern syndicate, but it became suspicious that something was askew when Wilkinson admitted accepting \$4400 from, of all persons, Guy McAfee.⁶⁸ Throughout the rest of the year, Clinton tried to allay the public's suspicion with a few spectacular events but to no avail. First, he announced that the underworld bombed his home, but the police, after an investigation, concluded that Clinton planted the bomb himself.⁶⁹ Next, Clinton demanded to present his evidence of crime and corruption to the grand jury in his own dramatic manner, but when his wish was granted his presentation fell flat because his leading witness was a constitutional psychopath.⁷⁰ In its Final Report, the other jurors described Clinton's investigation as nothing less than "malicious, unbridled, reputation-smearing gossip" and they branded it as Public Enemy Number One.⁷¹

Clinton, though, refused to be outdone, and he retaliated with a Minority Report which Bowron accepted as a public document after the presiding judge rejected it.⁷² Bowron also advised Clinton to distribute copies of his Minority Report to the city's reform groups, and Clinton did this — but not before

adding a large advertisement for his cafeteria to the bottom third of the cover page.⁷³ Thus ended one of the most bizarre episodes in Los Angeles' grand jury history, an episode which proved Clinton's gullibility rather than Shaw's corruption.

Clinton's sole achievement throughout 1937 came when he aligned reform's conservative wing with the business community. This alliance first appeared in December when, after a series of violent strikes, Clinton congratulated district attorney Buron Fitts for cracking down on the mayor's "personal vice racket" after the latter raided a few union headquarters.⁷⁴ This was neither a coincidence nor a mistake; rather it represented a growing belief between the reformers, the district attorney and the business community that organized labor was synonymous with vice racketeering.

This alliance between the reformers and the business community received further impetus when clergymen throughout Los Angeles joined the open-shop campaign initiated by Southern Californians Incorporated (SCI), a Chamber of Commerce front group.⁷⁵ SCI charged that union leaders "have conducted their operations with well-defined racketeering policies,"⁷⁶ and the city council yielded to these pressures by passing a stringent anti-picketing ordinance on December 29; but Mayor Shaw vetoed it early in the new year — and for thwarting the conservative tide, he unintentionally strengthened the alliance between reformers and the business community.

This alliance bore fruit after Clinton's investigator, Harry Raymond, was nearly killed on January 14 by a bomb attached to the accelerator of his car. SCI used the implication that the bombing was related to labor violence to put its anti-picketing proposal on the September 16 ballot.⁷⁷ Clinton, meanwhile, launched a recall campaign, even though no one was charged with the crime, but the district attorney vindicated

his action when Fitts arrested Captain Kynette and charged that Joseph Shaw, the mayor's brother and personal secretary, had ordered him to intimidate political enemies.⁷⁸ This charge, while unsubstantiated during the trial, appeared valid when the prosecution revealed that Kynette had "spied" on the reformers and that a police commissioner had ties to the underworld. The weight of this evidence swung the jury to the prosecution's side, and the public was convinced of Shaw's malfeasance when Kynette was convicted in June, 1938.

In less than a month, the public signed enough petitions to put the recall on the September 16 ballot alongside SCI's proposal, but the elation that arose in the reformers' ranks quickly vanished when they met to choose their candidate. It soon became apparent that Clinton, Shuler and the business community would accept nothing less than the nomination of Clinton's mentor, Fletcher Bowron. The liberal majority, led by the Municipal League, the CIO, and the communist labor leader, Don Healy, was aghast at this demand since Bowron was decidedly anti-labor and was identified with the conservative wing of the Republican party.⁷⁹ A bitter stalemate developed and neither side was willing to compromise until Clinton threatened to walk out, because, as John Buckley, a former grand juror, put it, "We can't win with a left-winger."⁸⁰ Faced with this ultimatum, and the loss of Clinton's lucrative financial support, the liberal majority collapsed on August 8, and the reformers nominated Judge Bowron as their candidate.

"It isn't what we want," lamented Reuben Borough, secretary of the Municipal League,⁸¹ but he supported Bowron's candidacy along with California Progressive John Koich "because the reactionaries will vote for him."⁸² Bowron, though, overcame their skepticism by pointing to his long fight against corruption and by his rejection of SCI's anti-picket-

Mayor Shaw and his brother, Joseph Shaw, whose conviction for civil service fraud was overturned by the state supreme court. Harbor Commissioner Eloi J. Amar (bottom) received a suspended sentence for renting a warehouse to bookmakers.



ing proposal in favor of a pro-picketing initiative sponsored by organized labor.⁸³ The result was a wide assortment of endorsements from the CIO to the Merchant and Manufacturers Association, in addition to Hollywood's entertainment unions, moral reformers and all the city's newspapers except the *Los Angeles Times*.⁸⁴

The ensuing campaign, while decidedly serious in purpose, took on a carnival atmosphere when Clinton launched a \$95,000 publicity campaign highlighted by "The People's Voice," a daily radio program which painted Los Angeles "as a hotbed of vice and iniquity."⁸⁵ Shrieks, screams, and a simulation of the Raymond bombing were followed by malicious tales of the Shaw administration, many of them fabricated by Clinton's publicity agent. Clinton told his radio audience, for example, that Joe Shaw smuggled \$500,000 in vice profits to Mexico,⁸⁶ and he testified before the grand jury that "Eastside Orientals" planned to assassinate Bowron.⁸⁷

The reformers' candidate, on the other hand, while maintaining a more serious stance, echoed a similar theme, and Bowron hammered away at the charges leveled against Shaw since 1934. He declared that vice and gambling were "under protection," that the ballots were "being fixed," and that Shaw used "terror and violence" to suppress his political opposition.⁸⁸ These accusations would have appeared "laughable and grossly-overstated"⁸⁹ if they had not been reinforced by a full page exposé in the *Los Angeles Examiner* linking former police commissioner Munson to the underworld, and by Gans' testimony that he had met Munson "many times" in McAfee's Biltmore suite.⁹⁰

The district attorney's office provided further ammunition to the reformers' campaign when Fitts arrested two of Shaw's commissioners for vice and labor racketeering. In July, one month after the state supreme court outlawed teletype bookmaking,⁹¹



Fletcher Bowron believed that the only way to fight corruption was with an "honest grand jury."

Fitts arrested harbor commissioner Eloi J. Amar for renting a warehouse to bookmakers, where he himself was caught placing a bet.⁹² But the most damaging evidence appeared during the trial of water and power commissioner Alfred Lushing and fourteen labor leaders described by Fitts as "eastern muscle men."⁹³ Held during August and September at the height of the recall campaign, Lushing and seven others were found guilty of "assaults, throwing stench bombs, attempts at extortion, bribing policemen, window smashing, placing caustic soda in cleaning vats, hurling acid, and even murder."⁹⁴ Following such revelations it was difficult not to believe that Shaw and his administration were to blame for the problems brought to Los Angeles by the violence, the strikes and the underworld. The case against Frank Shaw was complete, and he was recalled on September 16 by an overwhelming two to one margin.

Immediately after the recall, Bowron purged the Power Bureau and all other city departments with rumors and innuendos, and for good measure, the city tried and convicted Joe Shaw of civil service

fraud.⁹⁵ These and other exploits appeared in *Liberty* magazine, which hailed Clinton, Bowron and the other reformers while castigating the Shaw administration as the most corrupt in history.

A crack in this interpretation did not appear until 1941 when the state supreme court overturned Joe Shaw's conviction and implied that the reformers' chief witness was the guilty party.⁹⁶ Further exoneration came the following year when former Mayor Shaw sued *Liberty* for libel and settled out of court for an estimated \$50,000 and a public apology — both rarities in American journalistic history.⁹⁷ *Liberty* agreed to this settlement after Clinton, who was the chief source for its articles, skipped town during the trial and joined the army as a 42-year old private. The accusation that Shaw accepted a \$15,000 bribe from the underworld and that Munson was the administration's bagman ended in a similar anti-climax when Brigham Rose admitted after the recall that this elusive money was non-existent.⁹⁸

History, though, dealt softly with the reformers because they wrote it, and they omitted the fact that they themselves committed the very crimes leveled against Shaw. Bowron packed the grand jury with political favorites, Clinton tapped telephones and conspired with the underworld, and both misused the law, all in the name of reform. They used these methods to convict Shaw of police-protected vice in the court of public opinion, but they failed in the court of law because vice was either legal or noticeably quiescent. As with the reformers' other allegations of malfeasance, this one, too, fell by the wayside when measured by the yardstick of factual evidence.

The reformers never substantiated any of their accusations against Shaw, and except for Amar, Lushing and Kynette, no member of Shaw's administration committed a crime. It is important to mention, though, that Amar's sentence was suspended,⁹⁹

The case against Frank Shaw was complete, and he was recalled . . . by an overwhelming two to one margin.

and that Lushing's crime was not connected with his duties as water and power commissioner. As for Kynette, there was not a shred of evidence suggesting that Joe Shaw, or any other member of the administration, ordered him to intimidate the mayor's political enemies. Carney, in his article in *The Annals*, correctly evaluated the Raymond bombing as "a typical big-city scandal,"¹⁰⁰ but he was at a loss to explain how it led to the recall. The connecting link was a four year campaign and the expenditure of nearly \$100,000 to convince the public of Shaw's corruption without any evidence.

The reformers also failed to mention that the public turnout on September 16 was a decidedly conservative one, and that SCI's anti-picketing proposal passed by an almost identical margin as the recall.¹⁰¹ This was no coincidence. Bowron, Clinton and the vast majority of the reformers lived in the upper-middle class suburbs of Hollywood, Beverly Hills and Westwood¹⁰² and they aimed their campaign at the conservative elements in society to recall a mayor who lived, quite literally, on the other side of the tracks, near the corner of 59th and Main streets.¹⁰³ It was easy for them to believe that "business-politicos, gambling barons, privilege-seekers, racketeers were his comrades,"¹⁰⁴ but Shaw was hardly such a hideous person, and when the reformers finally met him the experience "almost took their breath away."¹⁰⁵

This accidental confrontation occurred immedi-

ately after Bowron took the oath of office and led a large crowd "hooting and hollering" into the mayor's office. As they entered, they suddenly stopped and a hush fell over them. For seated at the far end of the office was Frank L. Shaw, a crippled sixty-one year old former wholesale grocery salesman who had risen to the city's highest office.¹⁰⁶ Harold Story, Shaw's field secretary, witnessed this meeting and he recorded the following account:¹⁰⁷

Mayor Shaw quietly rose to his feet, and as Bowron came forward, extended his hand in congratulations. The crowd came in and assembled. Mayor Shaw picked up a copy of the City Charter . . . , handed it to Mayor Bowron, and said, "Mayor, this is your Bible. I trust you will abide by it and will give Los Angeles a good government."

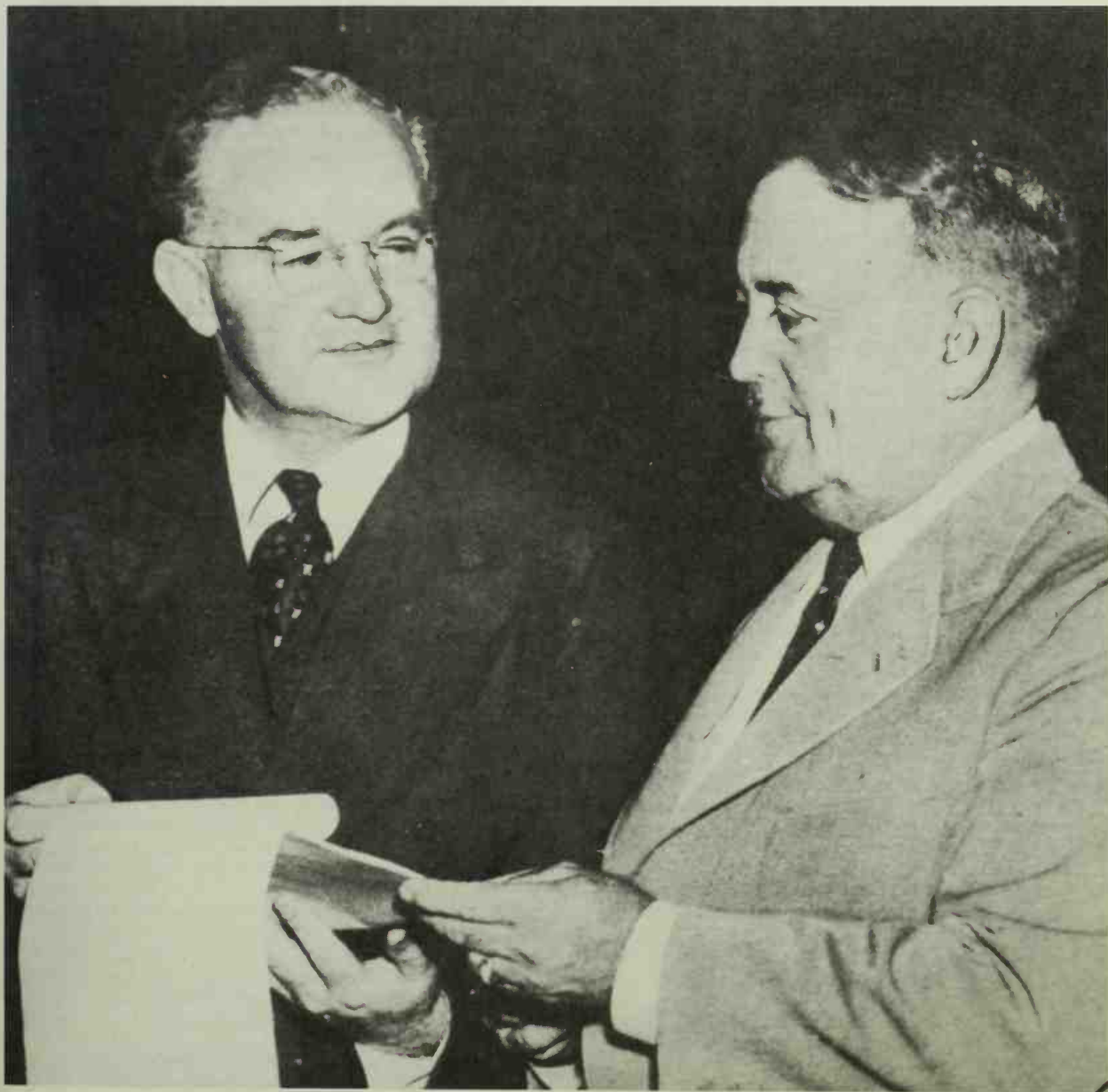
When he finished speaking, Shaw gathered his personal belongings, limped towards a side door, and passed into history.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the University of California, Los Angeles, Library, Special Collections.

Notes

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Mayors Bowron (left) and Shaw exchanging notes and power.



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5. Baisden, "Labor Unions," pp. 109, 135, 136.
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14. As quoted in the *Highland Park Post-Dispatch*, September 9, 1938, Shaw Papers, Box 1.
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19. Roy Knox, "Los Angeles City Bureau of Budget and Efficiency," *National Municipal Review* (September, 1934), p. 489.
20. G. S., "Fire Prevention Contest Awards," *National Municipal Review* (May, 1936), p. 291. *Los Angeles Times*, April 7, 1934.
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22. *Special Election Bulletin*, November 25, 1936, p. 2, John R. Haynes Collection, 1938 Recall file, Research Library, UCLA.
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26. *Frontier* (October 18, 1948), as found in California Ephemeral Collection, Bowron, Fletcher file, Research Library, UCLA.
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41. As quoted in Haynes Collection, 1934 Recall file.
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Notes to the 1817 Treaty between the Russian American Company and Kashaya Pomo Indians

Study of the role of the Russian American Company in California has long suffered from severe fragmentation of archival materials relating to that organization. An outstanding example of bureaucracy in action, the Russian American Company kept numerous records and maintained correspondence with several governmental departments such as the State Council, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Navy Department. Under such circumstances, researchers might ordinarily expect to discover a great deal of information on almost any aspect of Company affairs.

Such, however, is not the case. Portions of the Company records dealing in part with aspects of colonial administration and the sale of Alaska to the United States were sent to Washington, D.C. in 1867 as part of the agreement for sale. These records sur-

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William E. Pritchard holds an M.A. in Anthropology and is the Supervisor of the Interpretive Planning Unit of the California Department of Parks and Recreation. During 1971 and 1972 he conducted historical and archeological field research at Fort Ross State Historic Park and since that time has been actively engaged in the research and development of the historical structures and exhibits at the Park.

Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, Ms. Spencer-Hancock and Mr. Pritchard are currently involved in major research on several subjects relating to Fort Ross.

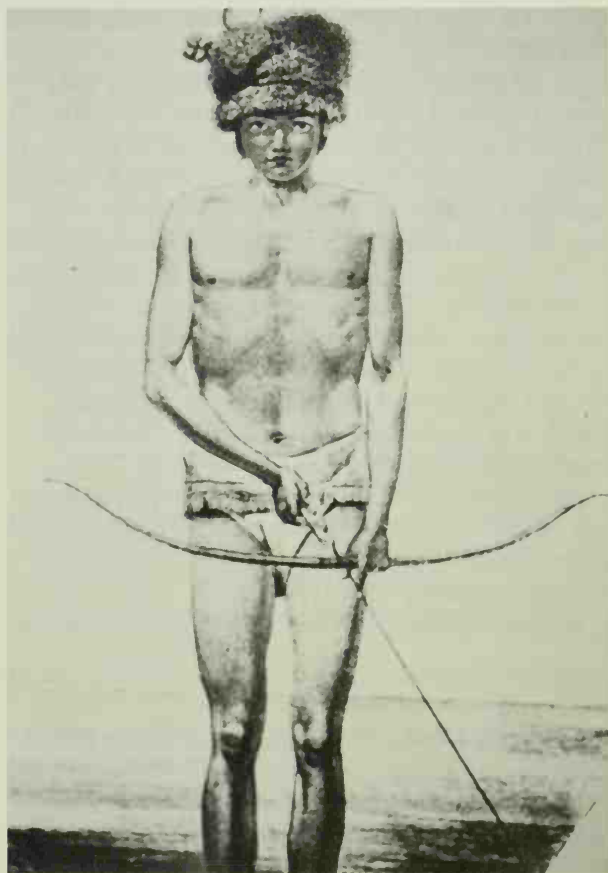
vive in the National Archives and copies are located in the Bancroft Library, University of California. Many official records and documents, however, as well as the personal papers of various Company officials such as Alexander Baranov and Ivan Kuskov, were apparently forwarded to Russia at intervals prior to 1867 and placed in scattered repositories. One collection of Company records, possibly the archives of the Main Office of the Russian American Company, were seen by Frank Golder prior to the 1917 Revolution, but have disappeared since that time and must be considered lost. Duplicate copies of some correspondence with Tsarist governmental departments such as those mentioned above do exist. However, after 1917, many were transferred to other locations. Today, the physical and political distance existing between the United States and the USSR often makes information on the current location of such records difficult to obtain.

By chance, a number of the more important documents from various Tsarist governmental archives were transferred to the Archives of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. It is from this source and through the cooperation of the Soviet historian, Dr. N.N. Bolkhovitinov, that we are indebted for a copy of the unique document published here in translation in its entirety for the first time.

It must be noted that this document is a copy of the original treaty between officials of the Russian American Company and the Kashaya Pomo Indians. The original document, signed by numerous Russian

officials, was apparently sent to Company headquarters in New Archangel (today's Sitka), the permanent Russian capital in Alaska. There clerks made several copies and forwarded them to other departments in Russia which might be concerned with its form and content, including the Chancery of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in whose archives the copy published here was originally located prior to transfer to the Historical Institute.¹ The original was then either retained in New Archangel or forwarded to the Company's Main Office in St. Petersburg. It is unknown if the original still exists. Yet this circumstance does not alter the importance of the contents of the document — whether original or copy — nor lessen its impact on California history. This treaty is still the only known written agreement between an occupying culture and a group of California Indians in the pre-American period. The document merits examination from that perspective alone; yet it is as a tangible example of Machiavellian geopolitics that the treaty can best be integrated into the existing fabric of information on the Company and its relationship to California and the world.

The Russian American Company was created in 1799 by consolidation of several large Russian fur-trading companies operating in the waters of the North Pacific. In addition to the usual mercantile endeavors, the Company was given tasks extending far beyond the realm of commerce and trade.² For instance, the Company was authorized to establish fur-hunting bases and pursue that endeavor from Alaska to 55° north latitude as well as given the more politically important charge to explore and colonize unoccupied lands far to the south.³ In assuming these tasks, the Russian American Company became the de facto arm of the Russian colonial empire in the Northern Hemisphere, and reflected Tsarist intent to make the Pacific a Russian "inland sea." A logical expression of this fact was the Russian plan to claim



*A Kashaya Pomo warrior
as drawn by Il'ia
Voznesensky in 1841.*

Translation of the Treaty with the Kashaya Pomo

Accepting the invitation, the Indian Chiefs Tchu-Gu-An, Aman-Tan, Gem-Le-Le and others arrived at Fort Ross on September 22, 1817.

On behalf of the Russian American Company, Lieutenant-Captain [Leontii] Hagemeister extended thanks to them for donating to the Company that land locally called Mad-Zhi-Ni which belonged to Tchu-Gu-An, for construction of the Fort and administrative and service buildings. He [Hagemeister] also stated that he hoped they [the Indians] would never have reason to regret having Russians as their neighbors. After hearing the translation, Tchu-Gu-An, as well as Aman-Tan, whose lands were not far away, replied that "They are very pleased to see Russians occupy this land, for they now live in safety from other Indians who used to attack them from time to time. This security began only from the time of Russian settlement."

After this pleasant reply, the Indians were presented with gifts and Chief Tchu-Gu-An was awarded a silver medal decorated with the Russian Imperial emblem and with an inscription [reading] "Allies of Russia."

It was declared that this medal gives the Indian Chief the

Теперь всамъ этотъ принадлежащий селу Виллеръ 22-го
въ крѣпости Россѣ живши по приглашенію начальника
губернѣ Лу-гу-анъ, Аман-танъ, Гем-ле-ле и др. дружина
присутствовали на переводѣ и были одобрены дѣло
дѣланы да приключили.

Капитанъ-лейтенантъ Гасемайстеръ приносилъ имъ
отъ имени Россійско-Американской Компаніи благодар-
ности за цѣлѣную землю данную на крѣпость, усиро-
еши и здѣшеніи зданіи на мѣсто, принадлежащихъ
Лу-гу-анъ, называющихся жителями Мад-жи-ни и
сказавъ, что надеются, что никогда имѣть причинъ
ожаловѣть о соседствѣ Русскихъ.

Атаманъ переводчикъ-лю, отставилъ Лу-гу-анъ, Гем-
и второй Аман-танъ, хотя жителямъ также не въ даль-
ней разсужденіи, что они должны жаловѣть сего
мѣсто Русскимъ, что они жителямъ неперъ въ близости
отъ Русскихъ жителей, что прежде жилища на ихъ мѣ-
стѣ—это принадлежало имъ и теперь только они жили
здѣсь,

Послѣ чего приключили отъ имени Виллеръ 22-го

and hold the largely unoccupied lands on the Pacific Coast nominally claimed by Spain.⁴

The projected Russian plan for such colonization, particularly in the unsettled regions of Alta California, called for a simple but audacious finesse of the prior Spanish claim to that territory. Such a plan was undoubtedly conceived before 1800, and by 1806, Nikolai P. Rezanov, the Tsar's chamberlain and a high official of the Russian American Company, recommended in a secret letter to Company officials in St. Petersburg that a settlement on the Columbia River be established as a prelude to initiation of future

colonies further south. He stated that within 10 years Russians would be strong enough "... to make use of any favorable turn in European politics to include the coast of California in the Russian possession." Rezanov, a renowned diplomat well versed in the intrigue of international politics, obviously recognized the extent to which the small, poorly-supplied Spanish garrisons were over-extended, and lamented that the existing Russian forces had not been strong enough in 1798, during actual Russian-Spanish hostilities, to seize the territory "... down to the Mission Santa Barbara."⁵

[illegible]

right to respect from Russians. Because of this, it was not advisable for him to come to the Fort without it. It [the medal] also obliged Indians to be loyal and render help to the Russians should the occasion arise.

In reply to this, Tchu-Gu-An and the others expressed their readiness to render assistance and extended their gratitude for the reception.

After the dinner, during the departure of the Chiefs from the Fort, a one-gun salute was sounded.

We, the undersigned, hereby witness that the reply of the main Indian Chiefs in our presence was exactly as stated above.

Fort Ross
22nd day of September, 1817

(Authentic Signatures)

Navy Lieutenant and Order Bearer Hagemeister
Staff Physician-Court Counsellor Kerner
Administrator and Trade Advisor Ivan Kuskov
Assistant Navigator 14th Class Kislakovsky
Company Agent Kirill Khlebnikoff
Commercial Navigator Prokopi Tumanin, Secretary

On March 10, 1810, in an apparent effort to follow through with Rezanov's bold colonization suggestions, Directors of the Russian American Company addressed Spanish officials in California by issuing a proclamation stating a Russian vessel would soon arrive in San Francisco to trade, and painting the advantages of such mutual activity in a most tempting manner. Rezanov himself, ignoring the fact that all ports of California were officially closed to foreigners, traveled to San Francisco in 1806 on just such a trading venture. He succeeded in bartering the cargo of his ship for food badly needed in the Alaskan

colonies, but failed in his attempt to negotiate a formal agreement for continuing trade between the Russians in Alaska and the Spanish in Alta California. By issuing such a proclamation, the Directors gambled that this bold ploy might turn the tide of Spanish trade in their favor. Yet, the step was not taken merely to reap simple commercial advantage—the Directors, many of them nobles of the court and intimates of the Tsar, had other objectives in mind as well.

By 1810, the time the proclamation began its slow journey to California, plans for a permanent Russian colony in Alta California were well underway. Ivan

Kuskov, following orders of Governor Alexander Baranov, surveyed the Sonoma coast in 1809 and selected the Fort Ross site as most suitable. Not surprisingly, the 1810 proclamation did not mention that a colony constructed virtually on the Spanish doorstep was envisioned. It did, however, contain a brief, carefully phrased sentence which both implied and justified precisely such an action: "The actual condition of Europe in general and of Spain in particular gives rise to the presumption that there is today no impediment to the admission of the Russians to the coast, especially since their objectives serve the interests of both parties."⁶ Obviously the Directors hoped the trade they envisioned with Spanish California would be so profitable the Spanish would avert official eyes toward both Colony Ross and any clandestine trading activity which might arise between the two countries.

Despite Russian circumspection, the Spanish were well aware of Russian interest in the region above San Francisco and cognizant of Kuskov's 1809 expedition. Spanish fear of Russian encroachment into their territory began in the eighteenth century with initial Spanish recognition of the nature and extent of Russian exploration in the North Pacific, and was to a large extent the compelling force behind the extension of Spanish colonization into Alta California.⁷ But chronic lack of funds, materials and personnel plagued Spanish officials in the upper territories and by the time the Russian American Company's proclamation arrived in San Francisco in 1812, a vociferous objection was the strongest action Spain could take to combat the occupation of Fort Ross.

In March, 1812, actual construction of the Russian colony in California began. Ivan Kuskov, first commandant of the outpost, perhaps remembering the disastrous attack upon New Archangel by Tlinket Indians in 1802, pursued a policy of peaceful cooperation with the local Kashaya Pomo Indians. Unlike

the Spanish, who generally ignored the rights of the indigenous populations and unilaterally claimed the lands of both Baja and Alta California, the Russians under Kuskov initially contracted with the Kashaya for use of the parcel of land needed for construction of the colony.⁸ Within a short time, a tricultural community of Russian administrators, Aleut hunters, and Kashaya artisans and laborers was established. Formalization of the actual occupation of Kashaya territory and an agreement for mutual aid occurred on September 22, 1817 when Captain Leontii Hagemeister arrived from New Archangel to execute the treaty between the Russian American Company and the Kashaya. Although the importance of the treaty lies in the larger picture of Russia's overall intentions in the Pacific, it is noteworthy that the relationship thus established on this occasion lasted relatively untarnished for nearly three decades until the Russian withdrawal from California.

The treaty between these two cultures at Fort Ross was clearly a radical departure from the usual colonization processes of Russia, and the question of Russian motivation naturally arises. To further support the contention that the treaty was an integral part of an overall Russian plan to occupy Spanish territory, some examination of the relationship between the Russians and the Pomo should be made.

The Kashaya Pomo were undoubtedly fortunate that their first extensive contact with Europeans occurred with the Russians rather than the Spanish or the Anglo-Americans. Commandant Kuskov was apparently a diligent and perceptive administrator given the difficult task of establishing a colony under the most tenuous of circumstances. He understood that the small, isolated outpost, existing without sanction — and perhaps under active threat of punitive action from the neighboring Spanish — could not afford to arouse the hostility of the Kashaya. The cooperation and participation of the Pomo were



Naval officer and Company official Leontii Hagemeister who headed the delegation of the Russian American Company in the execution of the 1817 treaty with the Kashaya.

needed to give the colonization venture strength, and their acquiescence to occupation lent the outpost a modicum of international sanction. Kuskov therefore wisely focused the priorities of the colony upon hunting sea otter and establishing a food base in California rather than upon the domination of the Kashaya and alteration of their traditional way of life.

Although unsubstantiated rumors to the contrary exist, no documentation that the Russians mistreated or adversely exploited the Kashaya has been located. This fact is in sharp contrast to the often harsh colonization policies of the Spanish, and indeed, to those of the Russian American Company itself in its colonies to the north. There the Russians often existed in uneasy peace with the Indians, and on occasion fell prey to depredations by the fierce Alaskan tribes.⁹

At Fort Ross, however, relations with the Kashaya were apparently so bucolic that Otto Von Kotzebue, the famous navigator, recorded in his journal in 1824:

The inhabitants of Ross live in the greatest concord with the Indians, who repair in considerable numbers to the fortress, and work as day laborers for wages. At night, they usually remain outside the palisades. They willingly give their daughters in marriage to Russians and Aleutians; and from these unions ties of relationship have arisen which strengthens the good understanding between them.¹⁰

The Russians, although committed to the relatively humane treatment of the Kashaya established in initial contact with the Pomo and maintained throughout Russian tenure at Fort Ross, obviously did not execute the treaty for humanitarian reasons. Their motivation was primarily an attempt to legitimize their colonization efforts in California on an international scale.¹¹

Yet the Russian attitude toward the Kashaya exhibits a classic political paradox. The vehicle of a treaty, an internationally recognized form of agreement between two or more states, was used by the

"Coiffures de danse des habitants de la Californie."
Indians of the San Francisco region as drawn by Louis
Choris, c. 1816.



Russians to elevate the status of the Kashaya to an autonomous nation, whose ancient occupation of the land superseded Spanish claim. The language of this document reveals Russian presumption that the Kashaya possessed the right to dispose of their land as they chose. Yet the original charter of the Company authorized that organization to explore and colonize "unoccupied" land, a clear reference to Spanish

claim. The Kashaya were thus used as a two-edged diplomatic sword for the Russian empire: their existence was initially denied to validate Russian right to colonize, yet their status as a separate nation was recognized by the Russians in an effort to thwart Spanish claims.

The document between the Russians and the Kashaya Pomo, while unique in form, content and

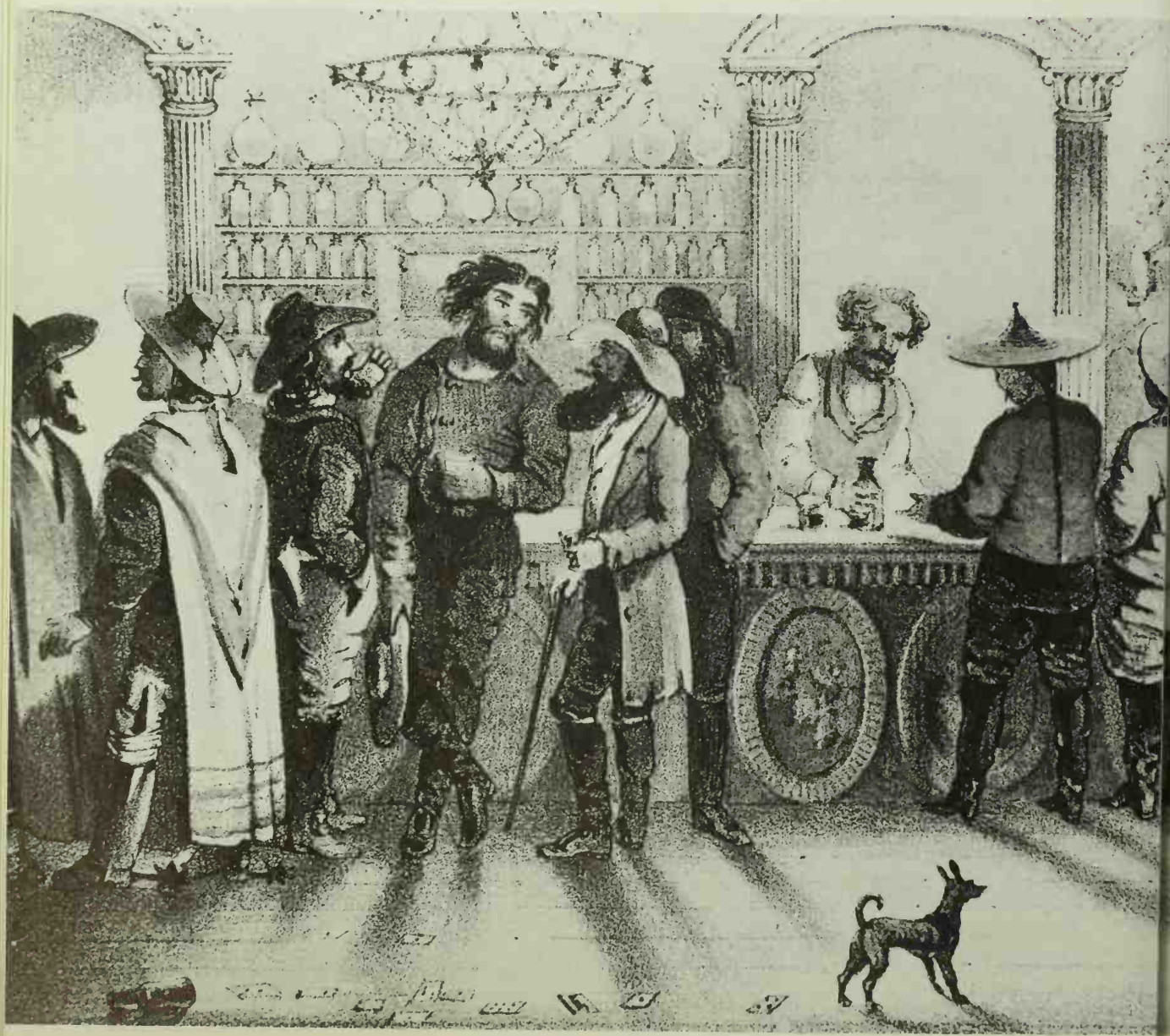
intent, clearly utilized the Kashaya as a pawn in the game of international politics. Knowledge of Russia's considerable hope of dramatically extending her Pacific colonial empire suggests that this document was but another step in the process by which the Russians hoped to solidify their tenuous California claims. However, one cannot help but admire the audacity of the masterfully Machiavellian Russians in openly espousing both sides of the Kashaya paradox. Under slightly different circumstances they might well have succeeded in their efforts to gain international recognition and sanction of their colonization attempt in Alta California.

Copies of the Kashaya Pomo treaty reproduced on pages 308 and 309 are from the Archives of the Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. The portrait of Leontii Hagemester is from the collection of Nicholas Rokitiatsky. All others are courtesy California Department of Parks and Recreation.

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Irving Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1911), p. 195.
P. A. Tikhmenev, *A History of the Russian American Company*, Vol. II. Translated and edited by Richard A. Pierce and Alton Sl. Donnelly (Kingston, Ontario, Canada: The Limestone Press, 1979), Document #43, p. 182.
6. Bancroft, *California*, p.82, pp. 295-6, note 2.
7. For an extensive discussion of the political relations between Spain and Russia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, see C. Alan Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).
8. Diane Spencer-Hancock, *Fort Ross: Indians—Russians—Americans*, Edited by Bickford O'Brien (Jenner, California: Fort Ross Interpretive Association, 1978), p. 3.
Okun, *Russian American Company* p. 175.
9. Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, pp.12-13.
James R. Gibson, "Russian Expansion in Siberia and America," *The Geographical Review*, Vol. 20 (No. 2), pp. 131-2.
10. Otto Von Kotzebue, *A New Voyage Around the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25 and 26* (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), Vol. II, pp. 123-4.
Spencer-Hancock, *Fort Ross*, p. 4.
11. N.N. Bolkhovitinov, *Russian-American Relations 1815-1832* (Moscow, USSR; Publishing House "Nauka," 1975), pp. 142-3.
Okun, *Russian American Company*, p. 128.
Tikhmenev, *History of Russian American Company*, Vol. I, p. 139.

Notes

1. S.B. Okun, *The Russian American Company* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 287, notes 7 & 22.
2. The most exact picture of the precise nature of the Russian American Company's role vis-a-vis the Imperial Court at St. Petersburg is best delineated in S.B. Okun's classic work cited above.
3. James R. Gibson, *Imperial Russia in Frontier America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976) p. 10.
Okun, *Russian American Company*, pp. 50, 73-4.
4. Clarence L. Andrews, "Russian Plans for American Domination," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII (No. 2, 1927).
Gibson, *Imperial Russia*, p. 10.
Okun, *Russian American Company*, pp.54-5.



Tourists In Gold Rush San Francisco

A San Francisco saloon during the Gold Rush with Forty Niners from all over the world in their native garb. One observer remarked "Many transients might have been thought to be celebrating a vast and noisy masquerade ball, such were their exotic costumes. . . ."

San Francisco has always been a favorite destination for travelers. Over 100 years ago, in 1862, the *North Pacific Review* observed that "the tribe of foreign tourists has been this year unusually large. The facilities of travel have so wonderfully increased."¹ The completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 brought even more tourists to the West Coast. San Francisco was just seven days time from New York City, and, as B.E. Lloyd declared in his *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, "from the time the first train came thundering down the Sacramento Valley with its freight of Eastern passengers, there has been an almost unceasing stream of travel pouring into the city."²

Just fifteen years earlier, things had been quite different for travelers coming to San Francisco. The town was anything but a tourist mecca. Just getting there was an ordeal. One way was sailing to Panama, crossing the Isthmus, and catching another ship to San Francisco on the Pacific coast. That was the quickest route, but many travelers regretted their decision to go this way. They faced bad roads, swamps, jungles, tropical heat, and wretched accommodations along the way. The Isthmus climate, declared the *New York Herald*, was "the most pestiferous for whites in the whole world," filled with "bilious, remittant, and congestive fevers, in their most malignant forms."³ Many would-be Forty Niners never made it to the other side of the Isthmus, and it was not until the completion of the Panama Railroad in 1855 that this route was really safe for travelers.⁴

Another way to San Francisco, in Gold Rush years, was around Cape Horn in a ship. This route avoided the diseases and misery of the Panamanian

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jungles but presented new problems: storms near Cape Horn and boredom from months at sea. The usual time for the Cape Horn route was six months.

The travelers' inconveniences were far from over when they landed in San Francisco. Visitors faced the same conditions that made life so troublesome for the Forty Niners. Most travelers, however, felt that these nuisances were worth the trouble. All America and much of the world was captivated by the Gold Rush and by stories of what was happening in San Francisco. The Gold Rush tourists were the hardy and inquisitive men and occasional woman who wanted to see all this for themselves and, perhaps, strike it rich while they stayed in California.

Travelers had been warned to expect the unexpected in California, but they were usually taken aback when they caught their first glimpse of San Francisco as their ship sailed through the Golden Gate and into Yerba Buena cove. For one thing, it didn't even look like a city. "The greater part of the city presented a makeshift and temporary appearance," declared Englishman J.D. Borthwick, "being composed of the most motley collection of edifices, in the way of houses, which can well be conceived."⁵ In 1850 many of the 20,000 to 25,000 people in San Francisco lived in tents pitched on the hillsides or in shelters consisting of a wooden framework and cloth walls. Others lived in modest cottages built from scraps of wood and sheet metal that had been scrounged around town. There were even some pre-fabricated houses that had been sent around Cape Horn in ships' holds in sections ready for assembly.

San Francisco had such a jumbled appearance, when seen from a ship in the harbor, that Lithuanian traveler Alexandre Holinski thought that everyone had erected their warehouses and dwellings wherever they pleased. Holinski was surprised to learn that San Francisco had been laid out in the same rectangu-

lar street grid as East Coast cities. The hilly terrain, he realized, gave San Francisco its makeshift and casual appearance from a distance.⁶

But San Francisco was quite an impressive sight seen from the Bay at night. Bayard Taylor, the twenty-four-year-old reporter sent to San Francisco in 1849 by the *New York Daily Tribune* to cover the Gold Rush, wrote that "the appearance of San Francisco at night, from the water, is unlike anything I ever beheld. The houses are mostly of canvas, which is made transparent by the lamps within, and transforms them, in the darkness, to dwellings of solid light. Seated on the slopes of its three hills, the tents pitched among the chaparral to the very summits, it gleams like an amphitheatre of fire."⁷

That was only the beginning of the surprises that greeted travelers when they finally reached San Francisco. There were no hacks or hotel baggage wagons to meet them at the docks, as in East Coast ports. In fact, there wasn't even a place for some ships to drop anchor. In 1849 and early 1850, there were only two wharves: one built by William Squire Clarke at the foot of Broadway and the Central or Long Wharf, built by William A. Leidesdorff, at the foot of Commercial Street. These wharves, recalled William Heath Davis in his *Sixty Years in California*, were "crowded from morning till night with drays and wagons coming and going. . . . In the Winter of 1849-50 it presented a scene of bustle and activity, day after day, such as, I presume, hardly has been equalled elsewhere in the world at any time."⁸ Vessels often waited several days for an opening at the docks.

By the end of 1850, the number of wharves had increased from two to nine, but they were just as crowded as ever.⁹ San Francisco was already the equal of Philadelphia in trade,¹⁰ and the ships were anchored two and three deep along the wharves. Alexandre Holinski counted 500 to 600 ships along the waterfront in 1851.¹¹ That number may be an exag-



San Francisco in 1849. "The greater part of the city presented a makeshift and temporary appearance," declared J.D. Borthwick, a visitor from England.

generation; the *Daily Alta California*, on October 31, 1851, said that there were 451 ships in the harbor, 148 being used as store ships.¹²

Rather than stay on board their ships for another few days, most travelers found other ways of getting ashore. The ships' captains could not depend on their own crews to land the passengers in row boats at the height of the Gold Rush, according to Mrs. John C. Fremont who arrived in the Spring of 1849. "The crews who took boats ashore were pretty likely not to come back," she noted in her *A Year of American Travel*.¹³ So townspeople charged a dollar or two to row the passengers to one of the wharves or to a place where they might wade to land.

The shoreline, which was just below Montgomery Street, was not a pretty sight: it had become a garbage dump, filled with broken packing boxes, discarded clothing, cargoes that had gone bad, rotten food, animal carcasses, and thousands of empty bottles. The garbage decayed and became mixed with the mud, and the waterfront was "accumulating a vast mass of putrid substances, from whence proceeded the most unwholesome and offensive smells."¹⁴

There were plenty of men hanging around the waterfront and the docks waiting to carry the traveler's luggage to his hotel. But the charge was another few dollars, "a sum so immense in comparison to the services rendered," declared Bayard Taylor, "that there was no longer any doubt of our having actually landed in California."¹⁵ As the visitors made their way to their lodgings, they were usually "overtaken with a sense of complete bewilderment," wrote Taylor. "The mind, however it may be prepared for an astonishing condition of affairs, cannot immediately push aside its old instincts. . . . One knows not whether he is awake or in some wonderful dream."¹⁶ Things often were better than they seemed on Taylor's first glimpse of San

Francisco. "As I walked through the city, my impressions were very favorable," wrote Albert Benard de Russailh, a young Frenchman who arrived in 1851. "It could have been scarcely otherwise; after a sea voyage of six months, and so long a time spent looking at the same faces and things, the poorest Indian village would seem like a magnificent city."¹⁷

The men who filled the streets had come from the four corners of the world. In fact, Vicente Perez Rosales, a native of Santiago, Chile, who landed in February, 1849, thought that it looked as if the "many transients might have been thought to be celebrating a vast and noisy masquerade ball, such were their exotic costumes, their language, and the very nature of their occupations."¹⁸ But there were almost no women to be seen. "Think of a city of thirty thousand inhabitants peopled by men alone! The like of this was never seen before," exclaimed Taylor.¹⁹ There were so few women in town, lawyer John McCracken wrote his sister, that "if one makes her appearance in the street, all stop, stand, and look."²⁰

The streets along which tourists walked to their hotels were not really streets. "There were no sidewalks in the streets, nor anything resembling them," wrote Vicente Perez Rosales. "The center was a slough of trampled mud whose solidest parts were formed by the thousands of broken bottles thrown from the buildings as emptied."²¹ Sacramento Street, above Grant, was nothing more than a deep ravine, and people living on Stockton or Powell Streets, in that vicinity, had to walk up Clay Street to reach their homes.²²

During the Summer months, these rutted, garbage-strewn streets were at least dry and usable. But when the rainy season began late in the fall, they turned into muddy morasses. Fifty inches of rain fell in San Francisco during the Winter of 1849-1850, and not one street had been paved or planked yet. The

Forty Niners wore high boots whenever they went out, because they couldn't walk anywhere without sinking up to their ankles in mud. Hauling merchandise around town was almost impossible, because the heavily laden wagons got stuck in the morass. In fact, a mule team and wagon completely disappeared into the mud one day. These streets were a peril to human life, too. Sometimes a man stumbled and fell into the street alone at night and was too drunk or too sick to get out. In January and February, 1850, the bodies of three men were uncovered in the mud on Montgomery Street.²³

The Forty Niners did what they could to make their streets usable that wet Winter. But with lumber selling for \$400 per thousand feet, they couldn't afford to cover the streets and sidewalks with wood planking. So they threw rocks, brush, and even boxes and barrels of perfectly good merchandise into the streets. The following year the city began to plank the streets around the waterfront and Portsmouth Square. As J.D. Borthwick observed in 1850: "not only the footpaths but even the carriage-roads [are] being completely paved with a flooring of strong planks, and lined with gutters, so that, in the heaviest rain, the San Franciscans might now walk from one end of their city to the other, over comparatively dry and clean ground."²⁴

Things did not turn out that way. Streets were planked at enormous cost to the fledgling city government, but the wood rotted quickly in the moist climate. By 1853 Ida Pfeiffer, an adventuresome Austrian woman in her mid-fifties who visited San Francisco alone that year, reported that "the boards are so worn and rotten that they often break in."²⁵

The streets were just as filthy in the mid-1850s as they had been several years earlier. "In the finest and most frequented parts of the town," wrote Ida Pfeiffer, "you see old clothes and rags, crockery, boots, bottles, boxes, dead dogs and cats, and

enormous rats (in which the town is particularly rich), and all kinds of filth flung before the doors."²⁶

The San Francisco hotels of 1849 were as rudimentary as the streets and overpriced like everything else. When Bayard Taylor arrived at the Parker House on Portsmouth Square after landing in town, he learned that there were no rooms available, "not even a place to unroll our blankets." The proprietor took Taylor and his friend across the Square to the City Hotel where they found a room, with two beds, for \$25 a week. Each man paid an additional \$20 a week for his meals.

Taylor wasn't getting very much for his money — roughly \$200 a month for room and board. "I asked the landlord whether he could send a porter for our trunks," which they had left at the Parker House. "'There is none belonging to the house,' said he; 'every man is his own porter here'." That inconvenience was part of visiting San Francisco during the Gold Rush. Men were unwilling to take menial jobs, like being a porter, except at the highest wages, because everyone hoped to strike it rich in the gold fields.

Taylor didn't complain about the lack of services or high prices at his hotel. Some men were paying more for room and board, and Taylor knew he was fortunate to find a habitable place to live. His room was a garret with two cots, two chairs, a plain table, and a small mirror in the way of furniture. The cots, he observed, were "evidently of California manufacture," because they came with just one blanket and no sheets or pillows. The garret ceiling was so low that Taylor could not sit upright in bed, and one morning he got "a severe blow on rising . . . without the proper heed."²⁷

Hotel proprietors were hardpressed at this time to provide even these primitive lodgings. John Henry Brown, manager of the Portsmouth House, told how he furnished part of his hotel in his *Reminiscences*,



"A Street Scene on a Rainy Night." At the right, a view titled "The Winter of 1849." "In the finest and most frequented parts of town," wrote Ida Pfeiffer, "you see old clothes and rags, crockery, boots, bottles, boxes, dead dogs and cats, and enormous rats (in which the town is particularly rich), and all kinds of filth flung before the doors."

published in 1886.

I must relate how I obtained furniture in those days: I got a couple of carpenters . . . to make benches, tables, and bedsteads. Our beds were mostly made of Sandwich Island moss, excepting four feather beds, which I purchased from the Mormons. The blankets were made of heavy flannel, with a seam in the center. The quilts were made of calico. . . . I had one bedstead made of extra length, thinking it would be long enough for my tallest lodger. Dr. Semple tried it, as he was a few inches taller than any of the rest, and the next morning he asked me if I had any chickens I wanted to roost, as his legs came out at the foot of the bed sufficient to roost about a dozen.²⁸

The best hotel in town in 1849 was the St. Francis at the southwest corner of Grant Avenue (then Dupont Street)) and Clay Street. This hotel "completely threw into the shade all former establishments," wrote Taylor. "The rooms were furnished with comfort and even luxury, and the tables lacked few of the essentials of good living, according to 'home taste' taste."²⁹ Taylor's judgment of hotels had obviously

been affected by his stay in the low-ceilinged garret at the City Hotel. The St. Francis did not match his glowing description. The building was ungainly looking, because it was a dozen pre-fabricated cottages that had been thrown together and stacked on top of each other.

The interior construction of the St. Francis was stranger still. The inside walls were "the thinnest sort of board partitions, without either lath or plaster, and consequently but little privacy could be enjoyed by the lodgers," recalled the *Annals of San Francisco*. "These [guests] by whispering too loudly, or talking too plain, frequently and unconsciously gave their neighbors intimations of facts which it was not intended, and, indeed, which it was quite improper should be known abroad. Hence, the house soon became as remarkable for stories of laughable incidents, and even tales of scandal, as for its ridiculous aristocratic pretensions."³⁰

By 1851 the cost of labor and building materials had dropped sufficiently from the inflated Gold Rush



levels for San Francisco to have some comfortable hotels with rooms at reasonable prices. The “first really substantial and elegant hotel of the city was the ‘Union,’” according to the *Annals*. This four-story brick building, which opened in 1851, stood on the east side of Kearny Street, between Clay and Washington Streets. Its Kearny Street facade was just twenty-nine feet wide, but the building was 160 feet deep. Its rivals were the Oriental, a three-story wood structure at Battery and Bush Streets, the Rasette House at Sansome and Bush Streets, and Jones’ Hotel, later renamed the Tehama House, at Sansome and California Streets. Any of these hotels, boasted the *Annals*, was “constructed, arranged, furnished, and conducted as well as any similar establishment at that time in the United States.”³¹

Experienced travelers who stayed at these hotels would have differed with that statement. “Good hotels were not wanting, but they were ridiculously extravagant places,” declared J.D. Borthwick, “and though flimsy concerns, built of wood, and not pre-

senting very ostentatious exteriors, they were fitted up with all the lavish display which characterises the fashionable hotels of New York.” Borthwick went on: “In fact, all places of public resort were furnished and decorated in a style of most barbaric splendour, being filled with the costliest French furniture, and a profusion of immense mirrors, gorgeous gilding, magnificent chandeliers, and gold and china ornaments, conveying an idea of luxurious refinement which contrasted strangely with the appearance and occupations of the people by whom they were frequented.”³²

Things, however, got much simpler upstairs in the guest rooms. Accommodations were often scarce in 1851 and 1852, and sometimes men were sleeping six and eight to a room, as they had in 1849. The rooms were still not that good to begin with. Alexandre Holinski was lucky enough to get a room to himself at the Jones’ Hotel. It measured eight feet by twelve feet and contained a bed, porcelain toilet articles, a table, two chairs, a chest of drawers, and a small

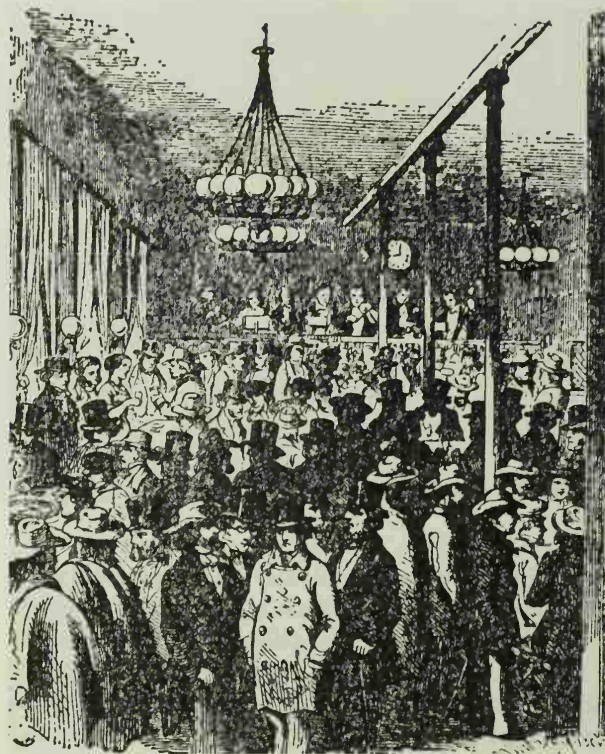
mirror. The walls were papered and the floor carpeted, partly for comfort and partly to hide the cracks between the floor boards.³³

Not everyone was as fortunate as Holinski in finding a room. The interior walls at some hotels were still cloth, that had been papered to look like real plaster walls. Nelson Kingsley did not have anything good to say about his hotel room, and he had just gotten into town from the gold fields and all their hardships.³⁴ Another traveler, Charles G. Plummer, wrote that "of lodging I cannot say much in favor."³⁵ Sir Henry Vere Huntley, who spent much of his time in California complaining, was particularly upset at the size of his hotel's towels; they were just fourteen inches square.³⁶

Some travelers, like Frenchman Albert Benard de Russailh, made the best of adversity. When he and his traveling companions landed in San Francisco, they headed for the French Hotel de l'Alliance on Grant Avenue. Their accommodations weren't much; the four men were given a single room with four mattresses laid on the floor, each with just one blanket. De Russailh and his friends, nonetheless, decided to go downstairs and "order a supper that would make up for all the privations we had undergone during our voyage."

Lobster with mayonnaise, a roast chicken, a few slices of cold meat, and several bottles of fairly good Bordeaux, soon set us up. At one o'clock in the morning we were still at table, nearly forgetting that we had just come ashore in a foreign port, six thousand leagues from France. Poverty might await us, and riches might prove only an illusion, but we did not care. Our natural good humor revived by the end of the meal, and we became quite hilarious when we were shown to our bedroom. At daybreak we were still laughing at would-be clever remarks that the wine had put into our heads.³⁷

During the Gold Rush, most guests were satisfied with hotel food even though the meals lacked variety,



The interior of the El Dorado gambling house on Portsmouth Square about 1850. Always crowded, it was one of the few places Forty Niners and San Francisco visitors could go for pleasure, besides the brothels and bars.

because many items were just unavailable. Potatoes, for example, were quite scarce in 1849, and restaurants charged a quarter for one the size of a walnut. But there were plenty of men eager to pay even this inflated charge. The *Annals* declared that "it was no uncommon thing to see posted at the door of an eating-house, as an inducement for the hungry to enter, the announcement, 'Potatoes to-day,' or 'Potatoes at every meal'."³⁸

The food was good, and there was plenty to eat, but the prices were astronomical by East Coast standards. Most hotel guests paid a flat room and board charge, but the men who lived in tents or shared a house with other men often took their meals in the hotel dining room. The Bill of Fare at the Ward House for December 27, 1849 offered roast beef, lamb, mutton, and pork for \$1.00 a serving, a limited selection of vegetables for fifty cents, baked trout for \$1.50, and desserts such as bread pudding or apple pie for seventy five cents.³⁹

Serving meals like those in 1849 took all the imagination of the hotel manager. Almost no one wanted to farm or fish when there were fortunes to be made digging for gold. John Henry Brown recalled that it was "very difficult to keep up the boarding department" and that I "would have failed entirely had it not been for the fact that I was personally acquainted with the captains of vessels, and consequently had an opportunity of procuring from them a portion of what they had for the use of their ships." Every time a ship sailed for Oregon, Brown ordered butter, ham, bacon, eggs, "or anything I could obtain in the way of provisions." An old man, named Herman, brought him fresh vegetables such as cabbages, lettuce, carrots, and turnips. "These he brought daily; I had to pay him fifteen to twenty dollars per day," wrote Brown. "Another item of considerable expense to me, was the hiring of two hunters and a whale boat to go off up the creeks after game; they

would make two trips per week and, were usually very successful."⁴⁰

In 1849 restaurants had opened in every part of town and served food of every imaginable nationality. "There were cooks, too, from every country," recalled the *Annals*, "American, English, French, German, Dutch, Chinese, Chileno, Kanaka, Italian, Peruvian, Mexican, Negro, and what not."⁴¹ Chinese restaurants were particularly numerous. Englishman J.D. Borthwick didn't like the appearance of the "dried fish, dried ducks, and other very nasty-looking Chinese eatables," but he admitted that "rats were not so numerous here as elsewhere."⁴²

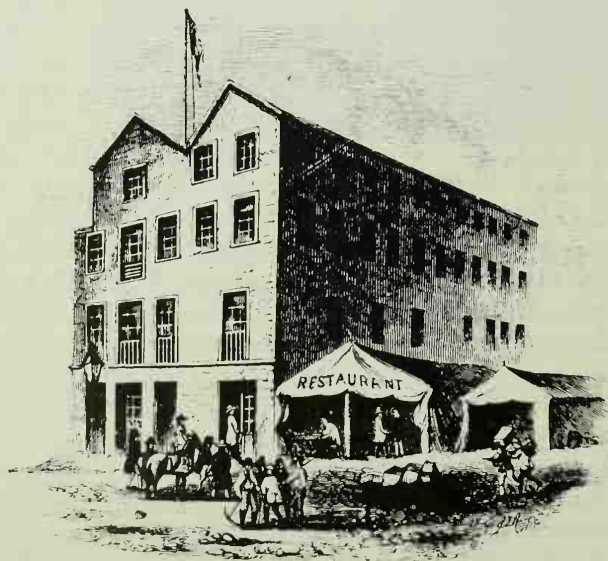
There were American style restaurants everywhere, and Englishman Borthwick saw regional variations in their meals. At some American style restaurants "those who delighted in corn-bread, buckwheat cakes, pickles, grease, molasses, apple-sauce, pumpkin pie, could gratify their taste to the fullest extent."⁴³

Dinner with wine in one of the finest establishments cost \$5 to \$12 at the height of the Gold Rush, while a meal in one of the ordinary restaurants ran \$1 to \$3. Restaurant food was generally as good as that served in hotel dining rooms. Some restaurants occupied canvas tents and served sand to customers along with beefsteak and coffee. "It can readily be discerned," declared the *Annals*, "that, from want of the necessary apparatus and room for cooking, the inexperienced and indifferent character of the men employed as cooks, and the immense number of persons daily to be served in the most of these places, the greatest cleanliness was not generally observed, and that very many devoured food of the precise character of which it was quite as well that they were kept in ignorance."⁴⁴

By 1851 the price of food had dropped to reasonable levels, and there was quite a variety available, too. Many men who had left farms to come to California



The Portsmouth House, southeast corner of Clay Street and Brenham Place, was known as a Gold Rush "luxury" hotel. Observe the roof sign with exclamation points.



The best San Francisco hotel in 1849 was the St. Francis. This hotel "completely threw into shade all former establishments," wrote Bayard Taylor. "The rooms were furnished with comfort and even luxury. . . ."

BILL OF FARE.

WARD HOUSE, RUSSEL & MYERS, Proprietors.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1849.

Soup.

Ox Tail..... \$1 00

Fish.

Baked Trout, White and Anchovy Sauce..... \$1 50

Roast.

Beef..... \$1 00 | Mutton, do..... \$1 00
Lamb, stuffed..... 1 00 | Pork, Apple Sauce..... 1 25

Boiled.

Leg of Mutton, Caper Sauce.... \$1 25 | Corned Beef and Cabbage..... \$1 25
Ham..... \$1 00

Entrees.

Curried Sausages, *a mie*..... \$1 00 | Tenderloin Lamb, Green Peas... \$1 25
Beef, stewed with Onions..... 1 25 | Venison, Port Wine Sauce..... 1 50
Stewed Kidney, Sauce de Champagne... \$1 25

Extras.

Fresh California Eggs, each..... \$1 00

Game.

Curlew, roast or boiled, to order..... \$3 00

Vegetables.

Sweet Potatoes, baked..... \$ 50 | Irish Potatoes, mashed..... \$ 50
Irish do. boiled..... 50 | Cabbage..... 50
Squash..... \$ 50

Pastry.

Bread Pudding..... \$ 75 | Rum Omelette..... \$2 00
Mince Pie..... 75 | Jelly do..... 2 00
Apple Pie..... 75 | Cheese..... 50
Brandy Peach..... 2 00 | Stewed Prunes..... 75

Wines.

Champagne..... \$5 00 | Claret..... \$2 00
do. half bottles..... 2 00 | Champagne Cider..... 2 00
Pale Sherry..... 3 00 | Porter..... 2 00
Old Madeira..... 4 00 | Ale..... 2 00
Old Port, half bottles..... 1 75 | Brandy, per bottle..... 2 00

BREAKFAST—From half-past 7 to 11, A. M.

DINNER—From half-past 1 to 6, P. M.

TEA—From half-past 6 to 12

Monson and Valentine, Book and Job Printers.

During the Gold Rush prices in San Francisco were astronomical by East Coast standards. The Bill of Fare at the Ward House for December 27, 1849 offered roast beef, lamb, mutton, and pork for \$1.00 a serving, a limited selection of vegetables for fifty cents, baked trout for \$1.50, and desserts such as bread pudding or apple pie for seventy-five cents.

to dig for gold now returned to the soil and were supplying the city with milk, eggs, and vegetables. Others were fishing or hunting for a living. "The market was well supplied with every description of game — venison, elk, antelope, grizzly bear, and an infinite variety of wildfowl," reported J.D. Borthwick.⁴⁵ Now there were dozens of restaurants in San Francisco, and some had pretensions to *haut cuisine* and elegance. San Franciscans were proud that their city had reached such a level of refinement so quickly. But some travelers weren't all that impressed with the stylish new restaurants. One morning in 1851, British journalist Frank Marryat decided to eat breakfast at Jackson's at California and Montgomery Streets.

Here are a hundred small tables nearly all occupied, I secure one and peruse the bill of fare. I could have wished for fresh eggs, but these were marked at two shillings each, and . . . I considered economy a duty. 'Fricassée de Lapin,' that sounded well, so I ordered it; I didn't tell the waiter, when he brought it, that it was not rabbit but gray squirrel, but I knew it from the experience I had had in the anatomy of that sagacious animal.⁴⁶

San Franciscans and travelers did enjoy these fancy new restaurants even though the meals were not always what the menu said. J.D. Borthwick thought that the names of French restaurants like *Trois Freres* and the *Café de Paris* were overly grand, because the food was nothing more than ordinary at those places. But he did like the meals and the atmosphere at the Jackson House, where Marryat had the *Fricassee de Lapin*, and at the Lafayette which were run by "elegantly dressed *dames du comptoir*" and where "all the arrangements were in the Parisian style."⁴⁷

By 1851 there was even a "ladies saloon" called Winn's Fountain Head on Clay Street. The Fountain Head was not a drinking place for women; rather it was a place where ladies and gentlemen might have

snacks and desserts downtown in a suitably genteel atmosphere. San Franciscans wanted a place where "they would meet, undisturbed by any thing offensive to the most refined habits and tastes." Business was so good at the Fountain Head that Winn opened his "Branch" at Washington and Montgomery Streets in 1853.⁴⁸

Visitors to San Francisco, as we have seen, were different from the usual mid-nineteenth-century tourist, because they put up with so much getting to California and while they stayed here. Another thing which distinguished the San Francisco tourists in the Gold Rush era was the way in which they got involved in the daily life of the community. The journey to San Francisco was so arduous and so long that they stayed in town or in the nearby countryside for at least a few months. In other cities, travelers stayed in hotels that primarily served other tourists. There were no such hotels in Gold Rush San Francisco, because many rooms were taken months at a time by permanent residents. Many travelers who stayed in town more than a few months left the hotels and often shared less expensive lodgings with the Forty Niners.

The travelers even started to look like everyone else in town, according to Borthwick. Everyone took on "a certain California air, which would have made them remarkable in whatever part of the world they came from."⁴⁹ Borthwick did not tell what made up this California look, but other visitors and Forty Niners described the typical garb of the times. "A heavy woolen shirt, trousers held up by a sash or belt around the waist, and the legs inserted in a pair of high legged boots. A slouch hat covered the head." Most men stopped shaving, and their beards gave them the "rough, rugged, savage" look which went so well with their clothing.

A group of these "stalwart, bearded men, most of whom are in the early prime of life, fine healthy,



Housing was in such short supply in San Francisco during the Gold Rush that floating ships in Yerba Buena Cove were turned into hotels. The rooms were not popular because of the difficulty and expense in reaching the ships by row boat, plus the noise and bad air below decks.

handsome fellows, make a *tout ensemble* that is very awful to contemplate,” observed the *Annals*.⁵⁰ But the Forty Niners looked this way out of necessity rather than any studied desire for show. L.M. Shaef-fer explained why he looked the way he did when he returned to San Francisco from the diggings in 1849. “My clothes were stored on board a vessel lying in the stream; those I had on were not only well worn, but, like Joseph’s coat, of varied colors. But as I had not yet secured a permanent lodging-house, and was not engaged in any business, I did not care how I looked, or what kind of a figure I presented, for in truth, I was not singular in this respect.”⁵¹

Another part of the California look in clothing was dirt. Laundresses charged \$5 to \$8 a dozen to wash and iron shirts. Most men discarded their shirts when they became too filthy, because it was just as cheap to buy new ones. “The majority of the population,” observed Borthwick, “carried their wardrobe on their backs, and when they bought a new article of dress, the old one which it was to replace was pitched into the street.”⁵²

One result of the general filthiness of most men and the entire town was the fleas which plagued so many Forty Niners. In fact, Borthwick thought that San Francisco was “famous for three things — rats, fleas, and empty bottles. . . . It was quite a common thing to see a gentleman suddenly pull up the sleeve of his coat, or the leg of his trousers, and smile in triumph when he caught his little tormentor. After a

few weeks’ residence in San Francisco, one became naturally very expert at this sort of thing.”⁵³

Another way in which visitors became a part of the community was earning a living. A few men were newspaper reporters sent to California to cover the Gold Rush. They explored the town and got to know Forty Niners as a part of their assignment. But other men went to work, because they had not made much money in the gold fields and needed an income. L.M. Schaeffer found that he could “live much more comfortably than he had expected” in the Winter of 1849–1850 when he stayed in a California Street boarding house. “I was known as a doctor, collector, agent and messenger; made mattresses out of common muslin and stuffed them with shavings, peddled cigars, patent medicines and notions; and what was thought an accomplishment at home, now became the source of my pecuniary profit — I mean performing on the flute.”⁵⁴

Some men made one-time killings from items of little or no value at home. Bayard Taylor arrived in San Francisco with another New Yorker who brought along 1500 copies of New York newspapers in his baggage. As soon as this man landed, he began hawking his months-old newspapers in the streets. He disposed of all 1500 at \$1 apiece in two hours. “Hearing of this I bethought me of about a dozen papers which I had used to fill up crevices in packing my valise,” wrote Taylor. “There was a newspaper merchant at the corner of the City Hotel, and to him

The prison-brig Euphemia and store-ship Apollo. Buildings were so scarce that ships were turned into everything from store houses to lodging houses and even a prison.





A French drawing depicting the sending of women to California to relieve the shortage there. As more women arrived the city of San Francisco became more "respectable." Churches and public schools soon replaced many gambling halls and saloons.



These Forty Niners seem to fit the description of a contemporary observer who found them to be "stalwart, bearded men, most of whom are in the early prime of life, fine healthy, handsome fellows . . ."

Winn's Branch at Washington and Montgomery Streets was a place where ladies and gentlemen could have snacks and desserts downtown in a suitably genteel atmosphere.



I proposed the sale of them, asking him to name a price. 'I shall want to make a good profit on the retail price,' said he, 'and can't give more than ten dollars for the lot.' I was satisfied with the wholesale price, which was a gain of just four thousand per cent!"⁵⁵

Albert Benard de Russailh made a "great profit" from toothpicks, "a wholly worthless" article back in France. De Russailh sold brushes, gloves, perfumes, and small articles of clothing from a table, made of several boards lying on sawhorses, that he set up on the Long Wharf, at the foot of Commercial Street. He had brought two cartons of toothpicks along with him as gifts for friends and for his own use, and one morning he laid out several boxes on his table. An amazing thing happened: "They had scarcely left the box when a grave gentleman paused before my shop and began to examine my merchandise. He picked up . . . a few other things . . . but laid them down again, and he seemed about to walk away, when his

eye happened to light on the toothpicks. He reached for a pack, held it up, and said: 'How much?'

"I was quite taken aback," recalled de Russailh, "for I had no idea what to charge. It had never occurred to me that anyone would buy them, and I had rather planned to give them away. But I remembered suddenly that in California nothing is given away; everything is sold. With as serious an expression as I could command, I replied: 'Half a dollar, sir.'"

He gave me a long look: 'It is not possible,' he said finally. 'That is very little.'

At first, I thought he was joking. Then I feared that he would fly into a rage. I smiled and was about to say politely: 'There is nothing for you, sir.' But he quietly gathered up four packs, handed me \$2, nodded pleasantly, and moved away."

The next day de Russailh brought along several more packs of toothpicks, and they, too, sold almost



immediately. That night he split all the remaining packs of twenty four toothpicks into packs of twelve. "The plan was excellent," he declared, and "in less than a week they had all gone for 50 cents a pack. I could hardly restrain my laughter whenever a man paid me half a dollar for only twelve. If I had a 1500-ton ship loaded to the gunwale with toothpicks, my fortune would have been made . . . but, unluckily, I had only 496 packs."⁵⁶

As travelers prepared to resume their journey, they often tried to write down what made life so different in San Francisco from what they had seen in other cities and countries. The one thing they usually mentioned was how fast the city was growing and changing. Albert Benard de Russailh was surprised to find the start of a fine city when he arrived early in 1851. "Like so many other emigrants, I had thought to find on my arrival here only the beginnings of a town, a cluster of tents and rude shacks, where I should scarcely obtain shelter from bad weather," he wrote. "But I was greatly surprised to see, instead, large and fine streets, well laid-out, and wooden and brick houses, all in regular order."⁵⁷

San Francisco's days as a boisterous mining camp

and Gold Rush port were ending when de Russailh landed. San Francisco had become a city, at least in terms of buildings, population, and economic influence. By 1851 the hotels and restaurants were much better than they had been in 1849. A few San Franciscans were living in houses like those they had known back East, and, as de Russailh observed, the city fathers were laying out and paving the streets.

San Francisco was on the way to becoming a real city in social terms, too. Respectable women were arriving as men decided to make San Francisco their home and sent for their wives and families back East. With the advent of family life, there were churches, public schools, libraries, charities, and entertainments other than gambling, whoring, and drinking. In 1851 many businessmen gave up their colorful miners' garb and started wearing black broadcloth coats as they had back East. San Francisco was becoming a more complete city every year. By the mid-1850s, most of the discomforts that faced visitors in the Gold Rush era had vanished — but so had many of the things that made San Francisco such an exciting place to visit.

By the mid-1850s, most of the discomforts that formerly faced San Francisco visitors had vanished. Hotels and restaurants were much better and the city fathers were laying out and paving the streets.

The photograph on page 317 showing San Francisco in 1849 and the panoramic view of the city about 1850 on page 332 are from the CHS Library. The Bill of Fare at the Ward House is reproduced through the courtesy of the New York Historical Society. Illustrations and photographs appearing on pages 321, 322, 324, 327, 328, 329, 330 and 331 are from the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. "A Street Scene on a Rainy Night" on page 320 and the San Francisco saloon on page 314 are taken from the author's collection. Credit is also expressed to the Guggenheim Foundation for their aid in granting a research fellowship to the author which helped make this article possible.

Notes

1. *The North Pacific Review*, November, 1862, p. 75.
2. B.E. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1876), p. 28.
3. *New York Herald*, December 23, 1848.
4. Doris Muscantine, *Old San Francisco* (New York, 1975), p. 74.
5. J.D. Borthwick, *Three Years in California* (Edinburgh and London), p. 44.
6. Alexandre Holinski, *La Californie et les routes interocéaniques* (Bruxelles, 1853), p. 106.
7. Bayard Taylor, *Eldorado or Adventures in the Paths of Empire* (New York, 1849), p. 90.
8. William Martin Camp, *San Francisco, Port of Gold* (Garden City, 1947), pp. 67 & 87.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
10. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, p. 19.
11. Holinski, *La Californie*, p. 102.
12. Frank Soule, John H. Gihon, James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 355.
13. Oscar Lewis, *This Was San Francisco* (New York, 1962), p. 97.
14. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 421.
15. Taylor, *Eldorado*, p. 43.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
17. Albert Benard de Russailh, *Last Adventure: San Francisco in 1851* (San Francisco, 1931), p. 2.
18. Vicente Perez Rosales, *California Adventure* (San Francisco, 1947), p. 20.
19. Taylor, *Eldorado*, p. 229.
20. Roger W. Lotchin, *San Francisco, 1846-1856, From Hamlet To City* (New York, 1974), p. 63.
21. Rosales, *California Adventure*, p. 20.
22. Untitled newspaper clipping, dated January 24, 1867, in the Amelia Ransome Neville scrapbooks at the California Historical Society, San Francisco.
23. Lloyd, *Lights and Shades in San Francisco*, pp. 510-511.
24. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*.
25. Ida Pfeiffer, *A Lady's Visit to California* (Oakland, 1950), p. 12.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Taylor, *Eldorado*, p. 43.
28. John Henry Brown, *Reminiscences and Incidents of Early Days of San Francisco, 1845-1850* (San Francisco, 1933), p. 138.
29. Taylor, *Eldorado*, p. 228.
30. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 648.
31. *Ibid.*, pp. 649-650.
32. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, pp. 48-49.
33. Holinski, *La Californie*, p. 103.
34. Nelson Kingsley, "Diary of Nelson Kingsley, A California Argonaut of 1849," *Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History* (Berkeley, 1913-1914), III, p. 177.
35. Charles G. Plummer to F. Plummer, San Francisco, March 14, 1851, manuscript in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
36. Henry Vere Huntley, *California: Its Gold and Its Inhabitants* (London, 1856), I, p. 218.
37. De Russailh, *Last Adventure*.
38. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 641.
39. Ward House menu, December 27, 1849, at California Historical Society, San Francisco.
40. Brown, *Reminiscences*, pp. 108-109.
41. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, pp. 74-75.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
44. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 640-641.
45. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, pp. 47-48.
46. Frank Marryat, *Mountains and Molehills* (New York, 1855), p. 311.
47. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, p. 74.
48. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, pp. 642-643.
49. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*.
50. Soule, Gihon, Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco*, p. 506.
51. L.M. Shaeffer, *Sketches of Travels in South America, Mexico, and California* (New York, 1860), p. 50.
52. Borthwick, *Three Years in California*, p. 54.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.
54. Schaeffer, *Sketches of Travels*, p. 52.
55. Taylor, *Eldorado*, pp. 43-44.
56. de Russailh, *Last Adventure*, pp. 44-46.
57. *Ibid.*

*Letters of
a Young
Frenchman
in Early
San Francisco*

“Mon coeur

Contained in the diversity of migrants to San Francisco in the years after the 1849 Gold Rush was a contingent from France. Attracted by tales of fabulous gold deposits and dislocated by political chaos and economic distress at home, they came seeking their fortunes.¹ The desire for novelty and adventure no doubt also played a role in this migration. Among those seeking adventure and economic advance was Ernest Jaudin, the oldest son of a Bordelaise baker. Because the family bakery was situated near the wharves of Bordeaux, Ernest was aware of the possibilities beyond the sea from his early youth. Tales of California fascinated him and for years he importuned his father for permission to leave for San Francisco. Finally, on his sixteenth birthday, Ernest received his father's permission to migrate.²

When Jaudin left France with a few friends in 1854, they did not sail as part of an organized group. The majority of the French migrated in an independent manner, but some, especially in the early years of the Gold Rush, travelled under the direction of migration companies. Organized as joint stock companies, the California societies allowed travelers to purchase shares entitling them to the otherwise unaffordable passage and mining equipment. Other companies with shares for sale allowed purchasers to work off part of the expense in labor. Unfortunately, these

Mary Lynn Dietsche is currently completing her thesis in the Master of Arts Program in history at California State University, Hayward. Her thesis is a study of the French in San Francisco between 1860 and 1870 and relates the history of the French colony to the growth of the city and the problems of immigrant groups. Ms. Dietsche's interests are American social history and the study of immigration and its impact on the migrant and his place of settlement.

est gonfle d'esperance!"

companies were all poorly financed, and even the best-intentioned had little hope of fulfilling their dazzling promises. Eighty-three California companies founded between 1849 and 1850 ended in bankruptcy or were the victims of fraudulent manipulation.³

While the entrepreneurs of the migration societies saw the Gold Rush as a means of turning a profit, the government of Napoleon III viewed it as a way to rid France of malcontents, the unemployed, and political undesirables. To raise the funds necessary to transport these unstable elements of the population to California, the government sponsored a lottery in which the first prize was an ingot of California gold. Difficulties plagued the Society of the Golden Ingot (*Société du Lingot d'Or*), as the lottery organization was known, as much as the private emigration societies. False starts, dishonest ticket salesmen, lawsuits, and finally bankruptcy destroyed the Society's high expectations. However, profits from the ticket sales were sufficient to send 3,800 Frenchmen, called *lingots*, to California in 1851 and 1852.⁴

Once in California all the newly arrived Frenchmen faced the same problems as other migrants — how to obtain a living and how to get to the mines. The *lingots* and the French who migrated under the auspices of the California societies had been promised a financial stake and mining equipment. However, because of the failure of the migrant societies and the insufficient funds of the lottery, they had to fend for themselves in San Francisco. Although the majority of the Frenchmen were on their own, some, like Ernest Jaudin, were able to depend on friends for initial support or possessed a trade.

Although the French migrants represented a wide range of professions, legitimate and illegitimate, San Francisco's economic instability made it difficult for most men to engage in the work for which they were trained. Forced to scavenge for a living, some turned to hauling wood or shining boots. Even the educated and aristocrats were not exempt from the struggle for survival. The French who brought capital with them found things easier, and some of them founded businesses that constituted an important part of the city's commerce. French merchants, like the Sabatié brothers who helped Jaudin, were responsible for importing wines, foodstuffs, silks, and other luxury items from France. Others, like François Pioche, with wealthy contacts at home helped funnel French capital into the city's economy.⁵

Despite their commercial and cultural contributions to San Francisco, the majority of French did not enter into the social life of the city. Like other sizable immigrant groups, they formed their own institutions and social organizations and maintained a French culture as much as possible. The French founded their own Catholic parish in 1854 and purchased a church, although there were already two parishes in San Francisco.⁶ Even before the French formed Notre Dame des Victoires, they organized a society to aid their fellow citizens who found themselves temporarily in need. Begun as a philanthropic organization, the French Mutual Benefit Society (*La Société de Bienfaisance Mutuelle*) soon evolved into an insurance society that provided financial assistance and medical care to its members. In addition to its own parish and aid society, the French community possessed such purely social organizations as a hook

Despite its glowing promises and initial achievements, La Californienne failed within two years of its establishment. La Californienne was one of the many societies founded to transport Frenchmen to California and to exploit the new state.

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Conseil de surveillance.
MM. REMOU DE BALLON, représentant du peuple à la Constituante.
BREYMAND, représentant du peuple.
CHIAPINI, curé d'Amers. — On le comte **POLYDOR DE LA ROCHEFOU-CAULD**, propriétaire.
 le baron **J.-B. DUPIN**, général

SIÈGE DE LA SOCIÉTÉ, A PARIS,
39, RUE DE TRÉVISE, 39
Directeur général : M. Ch. HOCHGESANGT.

Consignataires.
MM. TIMEL et C^e, armateurs, au Havre;
J.-J. CHAUVITEAU et C^e, à San-Francisco.
Ch. HOCHGESANGT et C^e, Comptoir commercial à San-Francisco.

Les opérations du Comptoir commercial sont aujourd'hui en pleine activité.

LA Californienne

Capital social : CINQ MILLIONS. Actions de 100 et de 1,000 francs.

La Californienne est la plus ancienne des Compagnies constituées pour le commerce d'exportation et l'exploitation des mines d'or de la Californie; elle avait émis au 10 août 10,520 actions de 100 fr. représentant une somme de 1,052,000 fr. L'importance des capitaux engagés dans cette entreprise, la confiance qui l'entoure imposent au Directeur le devoir d'exposer la situation de la Société à ses nombreux actionnaires et au public. — La Compagnie la Californienne a aujourd'hui des résultats

que la Compagnie a recue de cette expédition sont des plus satisfaisantes; les travailleurs sont animés des meilleurs sentiments, ainsi qu'on peut s'en convaincre par le procès-verbal suivant qu'ils ont adressé à leur chef M. H. Gaisano.

La p. 250 20 mai 1850

Les associés travailleurs de la Californienne désirent tout d'abord de toucher par eux-mêmes aux statuts de la

and ladder company, and choral and theatrical groups. French columns in American newspapers and a series of French papers kept the colony informed about activities and politics in the United States and France.⁷

The ethnic community and its adjuncts filled the social and material needs of the French without requiring them to learn English. The tendency of the French to remain within the ethnic group and an apparent disinterest in becoming American citizens aroused antagonism in San Francisco. Because the French did not readily learn English, their ability to develop non-French friendships and clientele was limited. Vague plans to return home prevented development of many businesses that required an investment of time.⁸ Not all Frenchmen, of course, took such an insular view of their stay in San Francisco. Ernest Jaudin was one who did not.

When Jaudin sailed through the Golden Gate in March, 1855, he came well prepared to cope with his new life. He had attended school until he was thirteen and, as is apparent in his letters, was intelligent and literate. After his schooling ended, he worked in the family bakery and learned the trade from his father.

During the long sea voyage, Ernest taught himself Spanish and English. Although his knowledge of the languages was small when he arrived, he was able to build on this foundation. In addition to his natural abilities and training, Ernest carried a warm letter of introduction to Messrs. Philippe and Alexander Sabatié, two of San Francisco's leading merchants who were also from Bordeaux.⁹

Upon his arrival, Ernest presented his letter to Messrs. Sabatié, and within several days they had helped him obtain a position as a clerk in a French-owned grocery.¹⁰ Ernest viewed his job, despite its long hours and hard work, as an opportunity to learn about business and to improve his Spanish and English. He slept and ate in the store to eliminate the expense of rent. After six months Ernest obtained a job in a bakery. His change was not, as he wrote to his mother, for love of baking, but because he earned more money and had a great deal more free time.¹¹ In 1858 Ernest opened a flour and sugar brokerage with George Kennedy. Kennedy provided the bulk of the capital, but Ernest brought a clientele that he had acquired during two years of trading in flour on a limited basis; Jaudin was the only Frenchman en-

gaged in the sale of flour.¹² Ulysse, Ernest's younger brother, joined him in 1861. Ulysse held several positions before settling in the French Savings and Loan as a clerk. In the same year Ernest became the representative of a southern California vintner, hoping to sell 100,000 gallons of wine the first year and double that in 1862.¹³

Ernest's business affairs prospered to the degree that he felt capable of supporting a family. On April 22, 1861, he married Mary Eleanor Derham. He wrote his parents, "My wife is American, Catholic, and from an honorable family. She is good and agreeable; she does everything herself. . . . I am very happy." Ernest hoped to teach Mary Eleanor French, but despite a half-hour lesson each night her ability did not progress.¹⁴ Ernest's family and business grew and when he died in 1868 during a smallpox epidemic, he left Mary Eleanor and their four children in relatively settled circumstances. A year later Mary Eleanor began running a boarding house with Ulysse and her sister and brother-in-law as her first boarders.¹⁵

In addition to the events of his life, Ernest's letters reveal a great deal about his character. Every move he made, starting with his emigration, was calculated to improve his financial status. He was clearly middle-class in his attitudes toward hard work, self-improvement, and willingness to sacrifice for a distant goal. Willing to take risks, Ernest carefully planned and investigated every move. He considered purchasing a store in the gold fields, but decided against it when he learned that the mining areas had a less stable economy than San Francisco.¹⁶ By dint of personal economies and wise investment, Ernest managed to save \$1,000 during his first two years in California.¹⁷ He was intelligent and aware of what was happening around him, both in the French community and in the city.¹⁸

Ernest's perceptiveness is revealed in the compari-

sons he made between France and California. He commented that American newspapers could print what they wished, while French papers had to print what they were told.¹⁹ The government in San Francisco did not tax bakers as the French government did, but competition and high overhead prevented the baker's life from being easy.²⁰ Prices were lower than in France, but work was harder to find.²¹ Ernest did not paint an overly optimistic portrait of San Francisco, but he showed the city as an exciting place where, if one were careful and hard-working, money could be made. Without intending to, his letters must have aroused the interest of others who were restless and trapped in limited circumstances in France.

It is difficult to say how typical Ernest was of the French in San Francisco. Some, like the Sabatiés, were extremely successful, but Ernest's friends were generally not as fortunate as he was. Ernest's letter of introduction to Messrs. Sabatié and his rudimentary knowledge of Spanish and English helped him obtain his first job. After that his ambition and intelligence carried him on. As in other immigrant groups, those with skills like Ernest's training as a baker were more likely to get ahead.²² Ernest's willingness to learn English was not typical of the French, and the brokerage business he chose certainly demanded a long term investment of time, again atypical of the French of the period. Yet Ernest was not the only successful Frenchman in San Francisco. He was just one example of how a man with ambition and ability could seize and shape opportunity.

The following letters were written by Ernest Jaudin to his mother, Marie. They are part of a collection at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley that extends from 1854 to 1873 and contains seventy-five from Ernest, forty from his younger brother, Ulysse, and three rough drafts from Marie to Ernest. Marie Jaudin saved the letters and they eventually passed to a great-granddaughter. The collection includes a fam-

This broadside announced the winners of the Lotterie des Lingots d'Or held in 1852. The profits of the Lotterie provided passage to California for approximately 3,000 Frenchmen. Unfortunately funds proved insufficient to help the lingots, as these emigrants were known, establish themselves in California.



Le 16 Novembre 1852, dans la salle du Cirque-Olympique des Champs-Élysées, à Paris, à dix heures du matin, sous la présidence de M. MONNIN-JAPY, doyen des Maîtres de Paris, en présence de M. CROIST-REYRI, Commissaire de Gouvernement près la Loterie des Lingots d'Or, de MM. les Membres du Comité de Surveillance et de MM. les Membres de la Commission spéciale nommée le 26 octobre par M. le Préfet de Police, il a été procédé, comme il suit, au tirage des 224 numéros gagnans de la Loterie des Lingots d'Or.

LISTE OFFICIELLE DES NUMÉROS GAGNANS.

Le N° 8,558,115, premier numéro sortant, a gagné le lot de			400,000 fr.
Le N° 0,820,450, deuxième numéro sortant, a gagné le lot de			200,000
Le N° 9,017,888, troisième numéro sortant, a gagné le lot de			100,000
Le N°	5,285,374,	4 ^e sortant, a gagné le lot de	50 000 fr.
Le N°	9,098,391,	5 ^e sortant, idem.	50 000
Le N°	1,338,598,	6 ^e sortant, idem.	25 000
Le N°	1,734,833,	7 ^e sortant, idem.	25 000
Le N°	6,472,837,	8 ^e sortant, idem.	25 000
Le N°	1,383,734,	9 ^e sortant, idem.	25 000
Le N°	6,717,264,	10 ^e sortant, idem.	10 000
Le N°	3,708,820,	11 ^e sortant, idem.	10 000
Le N°	1,634,778,	12 ^e sortant, idem.	10 000
Le N°	6,373,880,	13 ^e sortant, idem.	10 000
Le N°	5,448,708,	14 ^e sortant, idem.	10 000
Le N°	5,656,306,	15 ^e sortant, a gagné le lot de	5 000 fr.
Le N°	2,337,871,	16 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	2,671,870,	17 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	4,016,769,	18 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	1,710,342,	19 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	0,400,287,	20 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	5,924,289,	21 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	2,808,317,	22 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	5,757,864,	23 ^e sortant, idem.	5 000
Le N°	0,537,856,	24 ^e sortant, id. m.	5 000

Une deuxième liste indiquant les 200 numéros qui auront gagné chacun 1000 francs, paraîtra, immédiatement après le tirage, à l'imprimerie BUCQUIN, rue de la Sainte Chapelle, 5.

Paris — Imprimerie B. Bucquin, rue de la Sainte-Chapelle, 5.

ily history based on the letters of Ernest and Ulysse, which also contains information about events concerning the family in France.

The letters were, of course, handwritten; their faded ink on thin blue paper made sections difficult to read. Nineteenth century script made numbers difficult to recognize and Ernest's switching among Spanish, French, and American monies increased the

problem of adequately translating prices. In editing this translation sections that were repeated almost verbatim in every letter were left out, but indicated by ellipses. They tended to be greetings and statements about health. Where a phrase was impossible to read or make sense of, although this was rare, ellipses were also used. Price lists have not been included.

Letters of E. Jaudin

March 15, 1855

Dear Father,

I arrived in San Francisco after 130 days of a successful crossing. We were rather favored and the incidents happening during our . . . are too insignificant to report. I am at this moment in perfect health. This is my position for now, you know that Madame Sabatie favored me with a letter to her son; I presented it the day after my arrival. It seems that I was warmly recommended, because he had me bring my luggage to his house so that at first I would be spared the excessive rent of the district. Then, after asking if I spoke English, he promised me a job in a few days. I have already been introduced into two groceries and I hope to have a job by the end of the week. While I wait, I occupy myself at Sabatié's. Dear father, stop worrying about your son; have more confidence in me and believe that I will never die of hunger.

Your devoted son,

E. Jaudin

Dear Mother,

I can not dispense with writing to you in particular; you who are so dear to me and whose goodness I will always remember. Please tell Madame Panez, if you see her, that the letter I was bearing to her husband has been put into the hands of M. Chauche; but that I can report nothing to her of her position since I have not yet had the pleasure of seeing him. . . .

Your loving son,

E. Jaudin

March 31, 1855

Dear Father,

How shall I begin my letter if it is not to tell you that I have a job? As I said in my last letter, the Messrs. Sabatie took charge of placing me, the day after I had written to you I

began a job with a grocer known to M. Sabatie. For the first month I will earn only 30 piastres; but the next month I should get 40; which is not to be scorned since I receive room and board also. I have thus only to do my laundry, an expense that will not exceed 2-3 piastres a month. For a beginner I can not complain; later when I know more about the line of business I will be able to demand more. I am well, I could not really be better. . . . The line of business in which I am is the main kind in San Francisco. We sell so much; spices, liqueurs, meat, and bread, in a word, it is a universal store.

The city of San Francisco is charming, although it is so new. It still has wooden streets, but it is lit by gas. There are magnificent brick houses, stately stores, gambling houses in abundance, several theaters; altogether it is a rather lovely city. What is marvelous is to see houses transported from one spot to another by means of a hydraulic machine. In the same way one raises immense brick houses so as to make the cellar at the height of the first floor. We also frequently have the free spectacle of fires, but they are no longer very much because of the promptness of help. It is a magnificent thing to see these pumps, which are almost totally copper and fitted with little bells which join with the cries of the pumpers to make an excessive noise. They are ahead of the French in this regard, but it is necessary to admit that if aid were not more prompt than in Bordeaux, the entire city would easily burn as nearly all the houses are wood. These are indeed praises of the city. You will probably say that I am satisfied; I will answer that I am resigned to be satisfied; because I was the one who wanted to come. Nevertheless, dear papa, I really believe that when one is far from his family he continues always to wish for them.
Your son,
E. Jaudin

April 30, 1855

Dear Mother,

I am still working, still a grocer, and still in the same store; business is excessively calm at this moment. Merchandise is

abundant here as a result of an avalanche of ships recently arrived and everyone has gone to the mines or to Europe; San Francisco appears to be unpopulated. That will probably not last long because the mines return enough at this time to attract newcomers and that, by consequence, will make business go. I consider myself quite happy as I am; although the day after my job began I found work in my trade. I have seen M. Dancey, who is also in a grocery; it seems that he has been sick for a long time and has endured very heavy expenses. I have also seen M. and Madame Massie who have heard of me from M. Massie in Bordeaux. . . . I am now completely up to date on the prices of merchandise; everything is very cheap. Sugar, coffee, and several other things are cheaper than in France; in awhile the prices will begin to increase because some were so low that the arrivals will cease!! It is possible to gain or lose a great deal. . . .

The weather is now magnificent without being too cold or too hot; generally even during the middle of summer the evenings are always cool which means that one is nearly always dressed in wool. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

P. S. Excuse me for the hurry that is in my letter; but I do not have much time. It is necessary that I interrupt myself to work; that makes my letter neither well coordinated nor well written.

June 29, 1855

Dear Mother,

. . . . I am still in excellent health, still steadfast at my job. The business, which these past days was very calm, is beginning to recover; increases appear on all articles. Wine had undergone a rather large increase; the barrel which was not worth more than 45 piastres last week is worth today 56. The change is worthwhile. Since I have written there has been a change among us. Gustave has left for the mines and Oscar, after twenty days of idleness, found work the same day as Gustave's departure. You can tell his father

that he is well and that he is satisfied with his new job.

I will tell you that I have opened a savings account with M. Sabatie, where I deposit the part of my salary that I do not need. It is the surest investment that I can make while I am waiting to accumulate more; later I will invest it more profitably. I have the occasion to see M. Alexis every day, he is a consumer of absinthe. Speaking of absinthe, a shipment of it now would turn a profit. It is worth \$40 per case of twelve bottles with the Pernod mark; at my arrival it was worth \$18.

I have seen M. Dancey; he is as well placed as I am. He has, it appears, had some misfortune. He was paralyzed for eighteen months as a result of working in the snow. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

August 17, 1855

Dear Mother,

I certainly do not know what to think; it has been two and a half months since I received a letter from you. . . .

I am still at the same job. . . . However I do not plan to remain here a long time. I have several things in view which, depending on the reports that I will receive, I may or may not undertake. My plan is that partners in Sacramento and San Francisco would send each other merchandise that they would purchase in either place for a better price. There is often such a difference in price that one can make great profits; thus a bottle of Bordeaux is worth 1 sou in Sacramento and 7 in San Francisco; it is the same for several other articles. But it is necessary to have a partner, otherwise the cost of traveling back and forth diminishes the profit because of the time involved. However I still have to think about such a plan.

I have mentioned the departure of Gustave for the mines, I now mention his return, then his departure for Santa Barbara (in the nature of a grocer). He felt that it was time he found a job, because until that day fate had not been favorable. It is astonishing that he should have a job, because it is absolutely necessary to speak Spanish and he

Ernest Jaudin arrived in San Francisco in 1855.
A baker by trade; he first worked as a grocery clerk
and eventually became a flour commission merchant.
He is seen here at about the age of thirty.

does not know a word.

We have these past days had French and English fleets in San Francisco full of honors from Petroposky which was taken without a shot fired. Half of the crew of the Alceste has scurvy, but because of the great care that they have had here they are recovering. . . . If there is a military conscription, tell them not to take me when my turn comes.

E. Jaudin

September 19, 1855

Dear Mother,

. . . . You ask me what my bosses (my ex-bosses) are; they are French. As for their manner of conduct in my regard, it was completely above reproach. But as you say, this type of work is very enslaving. That is why I was tempted to quit; joined to that was the enticement of \$10 more a month (which is no little thing). I have become again a baker; I have been at it one month already and I can reassure you and papa by telling you that I like it more. We begin work at eight o'clock in the evening and at six o'clock in the morning or later everything is done. The remainder of the day is entirely free. Freedom had no place in my other job because after returning from a weekly walk of two or three hours, it was necessary to reenter and to work until another Sunday.

The food is excellent here as it was over there; not so fine perhaps, but quite good. There are regularly two courses and coffee at each meal. . . . When I was a grocery clerk, I ate in a restaurant for 4 reals per meal which is 1 piastre a day. It is unbelievable since one is well and properly served for this price, in this country where everything is expensive. . . .

I was glad to learn all the small news; these little details are always interesting. They remind me of Bordeaux and transport me back to the house. Sometimes I reflect and think; then I believe I am no longer in California.

I live in a very nice, small room; well furnished with a bed, a table, a small armoire, and several paintings. It is quickly counted as you see; but it is so much more than I possessed



before when I was obliged to sleep in the store.

Do not be disturbed about me; I will always earn my living; I have the conviction that when one speaks English and Spanish one can always find a job. . . .

Dubedat (the elder) who was like me a grocer, at my arrival, is now a broker. I believe that he does rather well on the consignments of M. Casse. As for his brother, he is still in Santa Barbara, but I do not hear from him. Granie has left for San Luis, I believe that he has taken a foolish step. He has left one job in order to earn \$5 more and for that he has undertaken a journey of four days by horse. He has left his trunk and is going to seek refuge in a country far from his friends. The clerk of M. Sabatie, the one who has been here for two years, has just left also for Santa Clara to work in a store that M. Sabatie has there. Little by little my friends disperse. I used to go out with the latter; we ate together every day, in a word we were very close. The workers of no matter what profession earn at least 3-4 piastres per day. In the bakery where I work, we bake two



batches a day. It is the same as in France; one makes a great deal of small split breads, rolls, and very large breads called *Jacqueaux* which are split with a knife across the bottom. Bakers are not taxed, they supply the bread as they wish, but there is a terrible competition and the bread is sold for a very low price. . . .

Your son,
E. Jaudin

October 4, 1855

Dear Mother,

. . . . Since M. Thibaud seems cold to the proposition which he made himself, it is useless to mention it to him again if he does not speak to you again first. It has happened that the period of time which has just elapsed was far from being favorable for business, but everything is becoming reestablished. Still prices are so low that few articles give a profit to the importer. A decrease in the amount of merchandise available will increase profits. As you should think it, I have not mixed anything in these affairs; which

is not true for the greater number of French; for me, I consider it the greatest foolishness to interfere in the affairs of a foreign country, especially since there is nothing to gain in these demonstration. The [vigilance] committee has disbanded since the elections are near; it hopes, however, to recapture its authority on things as much as in the past! I have news rather regularly of Oscar; he is enchanted with his job; I have learned from his boss that he has purchased a horse with complete equipment. The difficulty that his letters caused me was not very large; but since his father addresses them directly to him it is better. The elder Dubedat is still working. As for his brother, I meant to talk to him about his intentions to depart, but he has changed his mind. I think that he did not do much business and if it were not for the shipments he received by nearly each ship coming from Bordeaux, it would be less than brilliant. . . . You would not believe how many unemployed men there are at this moment, and some of them are well educated. It is precisely these last who find the fewest jobs because they are willing neither to mine nor to do any manual work.

Jaudin's parents: Marie Caillaud Jaudin (left) the Chère maman of Ernest's letters. Francois Jaudin was Ernest's father and owned a bakery in Bordeaux, France.

Those who can, leave the country; the others are in continual misery.

Perhaps some time I will go into the interior, if I can find some suitable employment. If you have some money and understand a little business you can sometimes get into a partnership. The main thing is to have a position that can provide profits in the long run. While I wait, I am still a baker at the same place where they think very well of me. . . .

P. S. Conforming to the request of M. Rigonet, I went to the French hospital where I presented the letter of inquiry that you wrote me; but it was fruitless; they even checked their records of the past without success. Perhaps he is at the mines where there are a great many Frenchmen whose names are not known, perhaps he has left California. I do not know how to find out for sure.

Your son,
E. Jaudin

December 4, 1856

Dear Mother,

. . . . Before leaving my former employer, I asked him for the same wage that I was offered as a baker; it was only after his refusal that I quit. However, I have not regretted quitting; I was a slave without the name. However, do not believe that I will be a baker for a long time, I hope that the next letter will inform you of a more advantageous change. Whatever happens you can rest easy, because I will not quit here unless I have something better. . . . Gustave is still in Santa Barbara; his brother rarely receives news from him; in his last letter he announced that he was in perfect health. Oscar is very happy in his new job. He told me in letter received several days ago that he made 18-19 pounds of bread per day; if he has not made an error, the work does not crush him. . . .

I notice that everything is quite expensive in France, the workers should be quite unhappy. Here everything is generally lower; wine remains less, although it is still rather expensive. You have asked me several times about

M. Rigonet. I have not even seen his shadow, which is not so astonishing since California is large. Tell his father that if he wishes to find him, the best thing to do is to write to the consulate, who receives such requests daily. It is the best chance he has of learning something. . . .

Dear Father,

I am in a position to send your money when you wish it. However, if you do not need it for the moment, occasions present themselves here more frequently than in France for making a profit and I will not let them pass.

E. Jaudin

January 6, 1856

Dear Mother,

. . . . You ask me again of the son of Bidon, I think I have answered on this subject. He has taken to the sea again because he could not find an agreeable job; he refused three or four that Messrs. Sabatie offered him. Since he did not speak English, he could not get a job that paid well enough. He has gone, I think, to China.

As for what concerns me, you understand only that I am a baker; I will tell you that despite what you think, I do not do it for love of baking. I do it for pure interest, as you will learn. Since I did not descend in rank by quitting the grocery, I risked nothing by my new position. In addition I earn 10 piastres more because of my change and what is even better — liberty. Now we stop there — liberty, you say, is harmful to a young man when he abuses it. But you know me well enough to know that if I might be a young man by age, I am not by character and that in changing jobs I did not change ideas. I am as economical as I was the first day of my arrival; I still have the same plans for earning money. Up till now I do not have too much to complain about; I have not been one day without earning more than my expenses. Yet, that is not the limit of my ambition; do not think that I am more willing as a bakery worker than I was as a grocery clerk. It is only because I know where I am going and I plan the use of my freedom. As a clerk,

I could rarely leave the store where I worked; as a baker, after five hours of work, time occupied by the little work that we do together, I can attend to business and by that sometimes double my monthly salary.

Recently several clippers arrived from New York and Boston with part of their cargo in sugar, which has caused a great decrease in price. The price has gone from 19 sous down to 11, one of the lowest prices that it has ever attained. I have negotiated an account with another man. At that price I hope that next month when the rainy season will have passed and when people set off to the mines, to resell it with 100 piastres profit for my share, which you think will not be too bad for me.

My boss is an excellent man; he lets me store my merchandise in his extra room which saves me the cost of storage or a store. I am always on good terms with the Messrs. Sabatie; a day rarely passes that I do not see them. They have offered to place me again if I wish it and if they would find me employment in a large store I would take it. That would be even less enslaving since the large stores close punctually at 5 o'clock and are not open on Sunday. If I were helped as are a great many young men by things sent from France I could perhaps make money sooner; that would make me more known in business at the same time that I would have profits. If my father were more current in commerce, I would have asked him to enter into a partnership. It would be to begin with small; he could send me 4000 or 5000 francs worth of assorted merchandise and he would give me advice. One half of the profits I would keep and the other half, which would be his since we would share the profits, would be sent to him soon after the sale. He should not be afraid to risk it, there is always some gain. Sometimes one can even double his money, especially when one ships from March to July, so that goods are received here from September to October. Will you talk to him of that? You say that he is impatient, this might be distracting and at the same time he can make a profit. It will also provide me with the means of perhaps doing more business. One hears that the Caramandel left Bordeaux September

10, it might have wine aboard. I hear that there is a falling off in France, we feel the effects of it in San Francisco. Yet wine is still worth \$50 per barrel; wines from Bordeaux, Marseille, and Toulouse obtain \$59. The Oregon also left Bordeaux September 9. Since they will probably arrive at the same time, there will be some business to do, I think, because prices will fall.

You have attached my letter to one from M. Granie to Oscar. If he neglects his father it is nothing to me. I do not know what has become of him, he does not write to me. I will send him his father's letter. As for the price that you share over there, I can not do it here. It will be double for me since I must stamp the letter to Oscar if I wish him to receive it. Nevertheless, since M. Granie must necessarily address him in San Francisco, continue this same way; I will try to arrange with Oscar for the price of postage. As for papa, I count on him for a letter next time and I especially hope that he will weigh my proposition. It will be at least as advantageous for him as for me. I think that he has enough confidence in his son to fear nothing. I am glad to learn that Ulysse continues in school; education is the most useful of things; the more one has, the more it is worth.

Your son,
E. Jaudin

February, 1856

Dear Father,

. . . You tell me that it is better to stay at a salary than to undertake anything, especially without sufficient capital. I agree with your advice; I believe that it can not be injurious if I can invest some money and make a profit while I continue to work. . . . It seems that the business of the bakery is not going too well; here it would be rather good, if there were not so many bakers. . . . It is necessary to say that the prices are higher than in France; the trade of baker is one of the best paid; my boss has paid some workers as much as \$200 (1,000 francs) per month. . . .

Dear Mother,

I am very grateful for your wishes and I assure you that I wish at least as much for myself; but M. Duban who had the good fortune to earn \$8,000 was here in a better time, when those who did not earn that much money were regarded as failures. Nevertheless, you can believe that all my efforts tend toward this single goal. I am young and full of hope, it is still a consolation.

You asked me for some details on the churches. I notice that I have forgotten to give them. There are only two Catholic churches and both are Irish; The remainder, and it is a rather large number, is composed of Protestant and Jewish temples; there is even one Chinese. As for piety, there is hardly any; the Mexicans and all the Spanish races are fanatics; the French are in general indifferent. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

April 20, 1856

Dear Father,

I received your letter recently and with it some observations on the propositions that I made to you. I do not wish to contradict you, yet it seems to me that it would be easy to bring you up to date if the thing were to your taste. Besides I do not regret that your decision is no for the moment; since the abundance of merchandise that has been thrown on the market by a host of recently arrived ships has lowered the prices. While I wait for you to change your mind, I limit myself to speculating according to my means, since I do not see too much risk of loss. There was a chance this month to earn money on flour; from \$8 per barrel, it has gone to \$14. Fortunate are those who were inspired. You tell me that there are many crooks; I am also convinced that California, more than any other country, abounds in them. One sees examples of it every day; just this morning I read in the paper that one of the large firms of San Francisco declared itself bankrupt. Its liabilities are estimated at \$150,000 and its assets at \$250; still it is made up of furnishings and effects. One has to be assured of the immunity of the law in

order to have the impudence to make such declarations; yet they are not rare.

Your son,

E. Jaudin

Dear Mother,

. . . . California is still the best country for work; it is bad in that there is still an uncountable number of men without work; and by consequence, jobs are rare, especially good ones. That will explain why I am so stationary; it is for want of better. Besides, I can not complain and until I find better I will not change. Here I have the leisure to deliver myself to some small speculations which augment my salary a little. I have sold my sugar and, though I did not make the profit I expected, I did gain about \$40. In a few days I will look for something else since the arrivals will stop soon and everything is very low priced. . . .

The same priest who has spoken of building a special church for the French has just purchased a chapel; he is going to pay for it with the product of a collection that he plans to make.

There was a great feast among the Chinese recently and their temple was open to everybody. They gathered at their cemetery and after first putting all sorts of dainty foods on the tombs of the dead, they consumed the food; thinking without doubt that the dead had taken their share and left the rest. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

November 19, 1856

Dear Mother,

. . . . I continue to see Messrs. Sabatie, but I no longer deposit my money with them. Although I have confidence in them, I have more in myself; much more since they are not a bank and do not pay interest. Since, moreover, I have the intention to use my money, I have removed it from them. I occupied myself these past months with small

In this letter to his mother, dated March 31, 1855, Jaudin described the sights of San Francisco, including the "free" spectacle of a fire and the hydraulic machinery used to move and build houses.

business affairs. At first I was rather well favored and earned some money; but two accounts that I have carried off to the sum of \$50 have lost for me the profit that I made after small bother. I have seen that it is necessary that I act alone and do not have a partner. I have taken this last business deal because I have estimated that the bakery might yield even more. I have recently invested \$500 in American brandy; if everything goes as it should and there is an increase, I hope to earn a profit. I am glad to learn that business is a little better; here the baking would be excellent, if the work were greater. Bakers are not taxed, they sell the bread as high as they can and are not subject to the police or anything else. Flour costs \$8 per barrel (200 pounds) now; they sell bread for 12-15 pounds a piastre; not weighed baked, but weighed as dough. It must be said that the costs are a great deal higher. All the bakers have a horse and carriage and must pay rent and the workers. All together, the bakers are not rich. . . .

We just passed the period of elections; one is on all points satisfied by the candidates elected; it seems that it is the first time that California has honest men at the head of its government. We have already had some days of rain; the Indians say that the infallible forecast predicts five continual months. This will be a very great help to the mines where there is gold in quantity but which one can not withdraw without water to wash the earth; it has been more than eight months since a drop has fallen. . . .

Your son,
E. Jaudin

January 19, 1857

Dear Mother,
. . . . You remember, without doubt, that I have spoken of my intention to leave for the interior; an offer of a store near the mines has recently been made to me. Its owner had earned enough money and is ready to return to France. My partner has gone to inspect the quantity of business that it does and to estimate the profit that one can make. If the price is not too high, I will go to the place in order to

examine it for myself. Everything is still in a state of preparation and if we arrange it, I will write to you. Recently I have taken a little more distraction; the troupe of the French theater is not too horrible and gives presentations every Sunday; I give myself the pleasure of attending them. Since we can start work at any hour we wish, we never begin before midnight and have everything done before six in the morning. I pass the evenings of the week at small family gatherings; San Francisco is growing little by little and there are now some families where one can introduce oneself.

It has been raining abundantly for several days; it is very favorable for the harvest of gold; the miners no longer complain so much. California becomes little by little more productive to the degree that it is more cultivated; it is of an astonishing fertility. California already produces more wheat and other cereals than can be consumed here; from the south come all sorts of fruits, also raisins that are not too bad. Factories are being built; there is a refinery which furnishes amply for the needs of all the Californians. All that constitutes a richness. Soon the shipments of gold for the Atlantic will visibly diminish. They send nearly two million dollars in gold dust by each steamer; it is necessary for the mines to furnish abundantly to continue such shipments.

Clothes here are expensive; one is obliged to buy everything ready made, otherwise one pays a crazy price. Ready made trousers cost at least \$8; while for this price one can get something passable from a tailor. French boots are \$10; there are American boots at \$5, but they fall off before being half worn.

These are some details, which probably hardly interest you; but there is so little news that I fill my letter with trifles.

Your son,
E. Jaudin

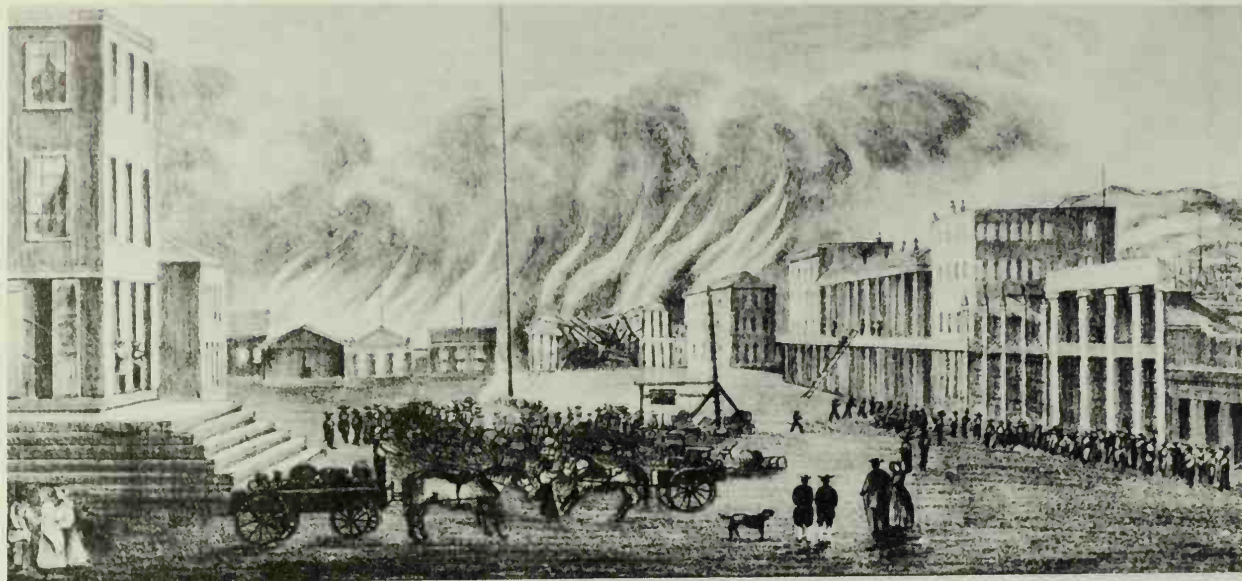
March 20, 1857

Dear Mother,
. . . . Concerning the acquisition of a store at the mines of

dans la quelle je suis en la principauté de Han-
francois; elle brille de tout; on y voit des églises
et des ligures; de la viande et du pain, on en
met et sort des magasins universels. Venant à la
ville de Vain bristat; pour être si nouvelle elle
est charmante; elle est encore planifiée, mais
elle est éclairée au gaz. Il y a des maisons et lieux
magnifiques; des magasins d'artifice, des maisons
de fête en abondance; des théâtres quelques uns
au total c'est une assez belle ville! Et qu'il y a de
mouvements c'est de voir transporter les maisons
d'un endroit à l'autre par le moyen de la machine
hydraulique. De la même manière on descend des
maisons de quelques étages de manière à élever
la cave à la hauteur du rez de chaussée. J'en
ai vu aussi fréquemment le spectacle gratis d'ordinaire,
mais qui maintenant ne sont plus rien grâce à la
prohibitive des écoliers. C'est une chose magnifique
à voir que ces pompes, jusqu'à totalement enlever
auxuelles sont adaptés des sommets qui joignent
aux cris des pompes font un bruit excessif. Je
puis dire que pour cela ils sont encore en arrière
en France; il faut avouer que si les secours n'étaient
pas plus prompts qu'à Bordeaux, la ville entière
se brûlerait aisément; presque toutes les maisons sont
en bois. Voilà bien des éloges de la ville; le ciel
sans doute il s'y trouve bien; je te répondrais me
résigner à lui m'en trouver; mais c'est moi seul qui
l'ai voulu ainsi; espérant que pour moi croir le bien
grand on est éloigné de sa famille il ~~tenait~~ rest
toujours à Bordeaux.

Compte qui t'enverra
par la voie

E. 



great fire in San Francisco  *Grand incendie à San Francisco*
 on the morning of the 1. of September 1850. Le 1^{er} Septembre 1850.
El gran Incendio en la mañana del 1^o de Setiembre 1850

which I have written to you, I have done nothing. The seller has the price a little too high for the business that he does, especially considering the instability of the mining areas. If one mine's output decreases or that of another increases, the miners desert the area; you can imagine what would happen to a store under such circumstances. I am thus still in the same job and awaiting a better occasion.

As I foresaw, the low price of brandy has abated and has increased a little. But I have not yet sold, when it increases more I will hasten to do so. As for wishing to pass as a fine connoisseur, I do not pretend that much; but as you know practice makes perfect. If I do not feel confident, I consult someone who knows more. I am always glad to receive news of M. Philippe Sabatie, but I have always been on good terms with him. I think that it will not be awkward for him to get married, because he will have one of the best jobs (concerning the French) in California. It is a business that makes more than 15,000 piastres each month; furthermore, their prosperity is not astonishing. After the fire of 1851 where they lost everything, it would have been difficult to rebuild without the financial aid of M. Alexander. Moreover, they deserve it because they are very good men. Mr. Dancey has at last decided to have his wife come.

I have not heard him spoken of for a very long time, the last time I saw him he was leaving for the mines, and he has not yet descended. . . .

Your son,
 E. Jaudin

Dear Ulysse,

. . . . Try to stay in the job you have, it is necessary to consider that even if the salary is minimal, the knowledge that you acquire of business counts for something and it will help you later. . . . While you wait for something better, strive to satisfy your boss and to pass your time well. . . .

Your brother,
 E. Jaudin

April 19, 1857

Dear Mother,

. . . . Business is very calm at this moment in San Francisco, and despite the large hope that I have of earning something extra, prudence commands me to abstain. Those who sell generally do so because they do not perform their own business. To sell at this time would not be to squander

This illustration of a San Francisco fire depicted what Ernest Jaudin may have seen. The caption is in English, Spanish and French, and indication of the multilingual atmosphere of early San Francisco.

money, but neither would it be profitable. There is a terrible competition in all businesses and one can not pass a first floor in any street without seeing a store which explains that slowness of business. If someone discovers a new placer in the mines immediately a camp forms and fifteen people are ready to exploit it; in total, one is really hindered from doing much.

I am surprised that M. Duleax thinks of returning; California has really changed since his departure and I doubt that he will find it as advantageous as he did the first time. I am almost tempted to leave for Peru, because I am tired of working for others. Peru is a country much better for a Frenchman who wishes to begin; Americans and English are not liked and the natives are generally lazy and do not occupy themselves with commerce. Although this would be still only an estimate of a project, I ask you to do your best to obtain the address of the cousin that we have in Lima and to send it to me in the next mail. As you know, acquaintances are always useful when one arrives in a new country; the more one has, the better it is; especially, if one seeks to help oneself and I do not want to be held back by a feeble obstacle. While I wait, I have stopped nothing; I am always at work.

E. Jaudin

July 19, 1857

Dear Marie,

. . . . I tell you that at times I regret passing my youth as insipidly as I pass it here. I am sometimes part of a crowd; we read or chat or gamble; I profit by spending my evenings here only in the cafes, because at least one enjoys a better company since one is admitted only with an introduction. But for all of that, there are not the balls or the pleasures of France. In the end, I conform, it is my fate. . . .

Your brother,

E. Jaudin

August 4, 1857

Dear Mother,

I have received your letter of June 11 which I assure you

has caused me an acute pain because I notice that you have badly interpreted the meaning of my words. If I have formed the project of leaving San Francisco, it was not from disappointment, it is a sentiment completely different which pushes me to wish to leave — the hope of doing better elsewhere. I know that I am young, as you justly point out; it is because of that that I would be wrong not to look to do the best I can when I have the courage. You have no need to torment yourself and if, as it is probable, that I leave San Francisco sooner or later, it will not be a reason for ceasing our writing. Believe me, absence has not weakened the love that I have for all of you. . . . You believe that I act from discretion in not letting you know what I possess even when I have no reason to hide it, you suppose really that it will be nothing to you; it is an oversight. I have succeeded in saving \$1,000, which is 5,000 francs, and although the sum might be more, I know that in two years I would never have succeeded in putting that much to the side in France from my salary.

I have written to Oscar Granie recently and have told him of my project to leave, I received his answer yesterday. He feels the same way; and we have decided that as soon as we can gather \$3,000 we will leave for either Peru or Chile, unless we find something more advantageous before then. Recently I received an offer of a partnership from someone who would enter for \$2,000. However, I knew a little about the individual and his morality and I politely declined. It is above all necessary to know your partner.

M. Philippe has not failed, I still continue in his good graces. He has even offered me several jobs that I have been very sorry to refuse since they came from him. But they would have deprived me of a liberty that has become a necessity and they were less lucrative. I have refused him politely and sincerely, asking him to consider my reasons for refusing. I have friends rather well placed among the Americans; several have promised to take an interest in me, but I do not depend on that. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

September 4, 1857

Dear Mother,

I thank you for all the requests that you have made in order to give me the information that I wanted. We receive here news of Peru, Chile, and all the Pacific ports and the entire world every two weeks. Moreover, California is populated by men who for the most part have lived in different parts of America. I know several who have lived in Peru; it is necessary to consider the source of one's information. Those who profited in Peru, praise it; those who did not, talk of execrable things. It is thus of all countries. Meanwhile, I have heard that the Peruvian government is in constant warfare with the Indians; commerce is not without some danger; but it is very advantageous. On the other hand, Chile is a great deal more salubrious, more peaceful, more established, and, perhaps, one could better oneself there. . . . I will make the decision which seems to me the most advantageous. . . . News of California is not abundant; an industrial exposition is being prepared in San Francisco for our state and for Oregon. Otherwise things are calm and in general worse than ever. The last courier brought us interesting news of Europe; the elections and their result; the death of Beranger and the details of his burial; but better than all that, the insurrection of Italy and the assassination plot against Napoleon III. I know that the French newspapers are censored and they comment on these deeds as they are ordered; but here the press is free. There is a great deal of praise for Mazzini, Ledru, Rollin, and others since the French are in great part republicans and look favorably on the temptations of freedom. I see that I fall into politics, so I will stop. . . .

Your son,
E. Jaudin

P. S. Madame Dancey sends you her good wishes; she has just opened an establishment for the instruction of children, but I doubt that she will succeed because there are already a great many and some are free, supported by the state.

November 5, 1857

Dear Mother,

. . . . Although I have nothing really new to tell you, I will tell you that I quit my job two months ago and have thrown myself into business. I am a broker of flour and until now I can not complain of my decision since I earn as much as my job, and, even more, I am my own boss. Beyond that, each day has the hope of doing better; because one can only do better in making himself known. I need only some small consignments which can help me and then I will be all on my own. If M. Thibaud had still the desire to send, he would have done it already. It has been a month and still today one doubles on brandy. I know that if I were helped a little I would succeed more easily.

I received a letter several days ago from Granie. It seems that his father demands back from him the 200 piastres of his passage plus interest in terms rather hard. It seems to me rather odd on the part of a father. We have been discussing doing some business together. He has written me that he is busy liquidating and reinvesting his money which is as difficult a matter there as everywhere. He asked me to send his father the \$200 that the latter asked for which I would have done with a great deal of pleasure, if I had not need myself of my money. There is an increase of 1 piastre on a barrel of flour; also at this time when everyone tries to buy, the price of an article jumps.

Your son,
E. Jaudin

December 4, 1857

Dear Mother,

. . . . For me, I enjoy very good health and still continue as a flour broker. We had a great increase recently, even the most improvident made some money; but after that followed an extraordinary calm because of the elevated price which grain and flour command. Those who have not made provisions purchase only as much as they feel they need. Grain goes for 4-5 sous depending on quality and it is supposed that all winter flour will be expensive, unless it

arrives in considerable quantities from the eastern states. I have put all my money in flour and I could realize \$100 profit today but I prefer to wait because everything points to a new increase. . . .

As for dear Gallut, give him my good wishes and tell him especially that the idea of coming to California should never pass through his brain, because one earns nothing without work and it is often difficult to find work. . . .

Your son,

E. Jaudin

The Parisian broadsides on pages 336 and 338 and the photographs of Ernest, Marie and François Jaudin are courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Ernest Jaudin's letter to his mother reproduced on page 347 is from the Jaudin Family Letters also in the collections of the Bancroft Library. The San Francisco fire scene is from the CHS Library.

Notes

1. Etienne Derbec, *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush; The Letters of Etienne Derbec*, ed. A. P. Nasatir (Georgetown, California: The Talisman Press, 1964), pp. 18-20. Leon Lemonnier discusses the political and social background of France and its relationship to the Gold Rush in *La Ruée vers l'Or en Californie* (Gallimard, 1944).
2. Suzanne Kriz-Reveillaud, "La Famille Jaudin; Bordeaux et San Francisco, 1854-1873." Jaudin Family Letters. Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California, 1971, p. 8. The author of this family history is the great-granddaughter of Ernest's younger sister Berthe. The history is based on the correspondence of Ernest and Ulysse and contains portions of their letters and information about the family in France.
3. Derbec, *A French Journalist in the California Gold Rush*, pp. 20-23. A detailed study based on French police records of the California Societies can be found in Henry Blumenthal, "The California Societies in France, 1849-1855," *Pacific Historical Review*, 25 (August 1956), pp. 251-260.
4. The previously mentioned *La Ruée vers l'Or en Californie* contains a complete recounting of the story of the Society of the Golden Ingot; the main difficulty with the book is its lack of documentation. Rufus Kay Wyllys, "The French of California and Sonora," *Pacific Historical Review*, 1 (September 1932), pp. 337-359.
5. Daniel Lévy, *Les Français en Californie* (San Francisco: Grigoire, Tauzy, et Cie, Librairies Editeurs, 1884), pp. 107-111. David G. Dolin and Charles A. Fracchia, "Forgotten Financier; François L. A. Pioche," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 53 (Spring 1974), pp. 17-24.
6. Ernest Jaudin Letters, February 19, 1856 and April 20, 1856. Jaudin Family Letters, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California. The establishment of an ethnic church, despite the previous existence of other parishes, is fairly typical of immigrant groups. It is representative of the group's attempt to maintain its identity and to find safety in the known quantities of language and custom. Bradford Luckingham, "Immigrant Life in Emergent San Francisco," *Journal of the West*, 12 (October 1973), pp. 600-617.
7. Jehanne Bietry-Salinger (ed.) *Le Guide Franco-Californien du Notre Centenaire* (San Francisco: Pisani Printing and Publishing Co., 1949), pp. 61-66. Lévy, *Les Français en Californie*, pp. 199-200. Clifford Bissell, "The French Language Press in California," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, 39 (1960) pp. 1-18, 141-173, 219-262 and 311-353.
8. Frank Soulé, John H. Gihon, and James Nisbet, *The Annals of San Francisco* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1855), pp. 461-465. Lévy, *Les Français en Californie*, pp. 357-366.
9. Philippe and Alexander Sabatié came to San Francisco via Hawaii in the early Gold Rush period. Eugene was responsible for the first shipment of wheat to the area in 1848. Bietry-Salinger, *Le Guide Franco-Californien du Notre Centenaire*, p. 3.
10. Ernest Jaudin Letters, March 31, 1855.
11. Ernest Jaudin Letters, September 19, 1855.
12. Kriz-Reveillaud, "La Famille Jaudin," p. 41.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.
14. Although Mary Eleanor was born in New York, her parents were from Ireland. Letter of April 30, 1861, quoted in Kriz-Reveillaud, "La Famille Jaudin." p. 96; p. 106.
15. Ernest's correspondence after 1864 has not survived and what is known about him after that comes from the letters of Ulysse. Kriz-Reveillaud, "La Famille Jaudin," p. 130; p. 144.
16. Ernest Jaudin Letters, January 19, 1857, and March 20, 1857.
17. Ernest Jaudin Letters, August 4, 1857.
18. Ernest Jaudin Letters, February 19, 1856, and October 4, 1855.
19. Ernest Jaudin Letters, September 4, 1857.
20. Ernest Jaudin Letters, September 19, 1855, and November 19, 1856.
21. Ernest Jaudin Letters, April 30, 1855, and October 4, 1855.
22. Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door; Italian and Jewish Immigrant Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

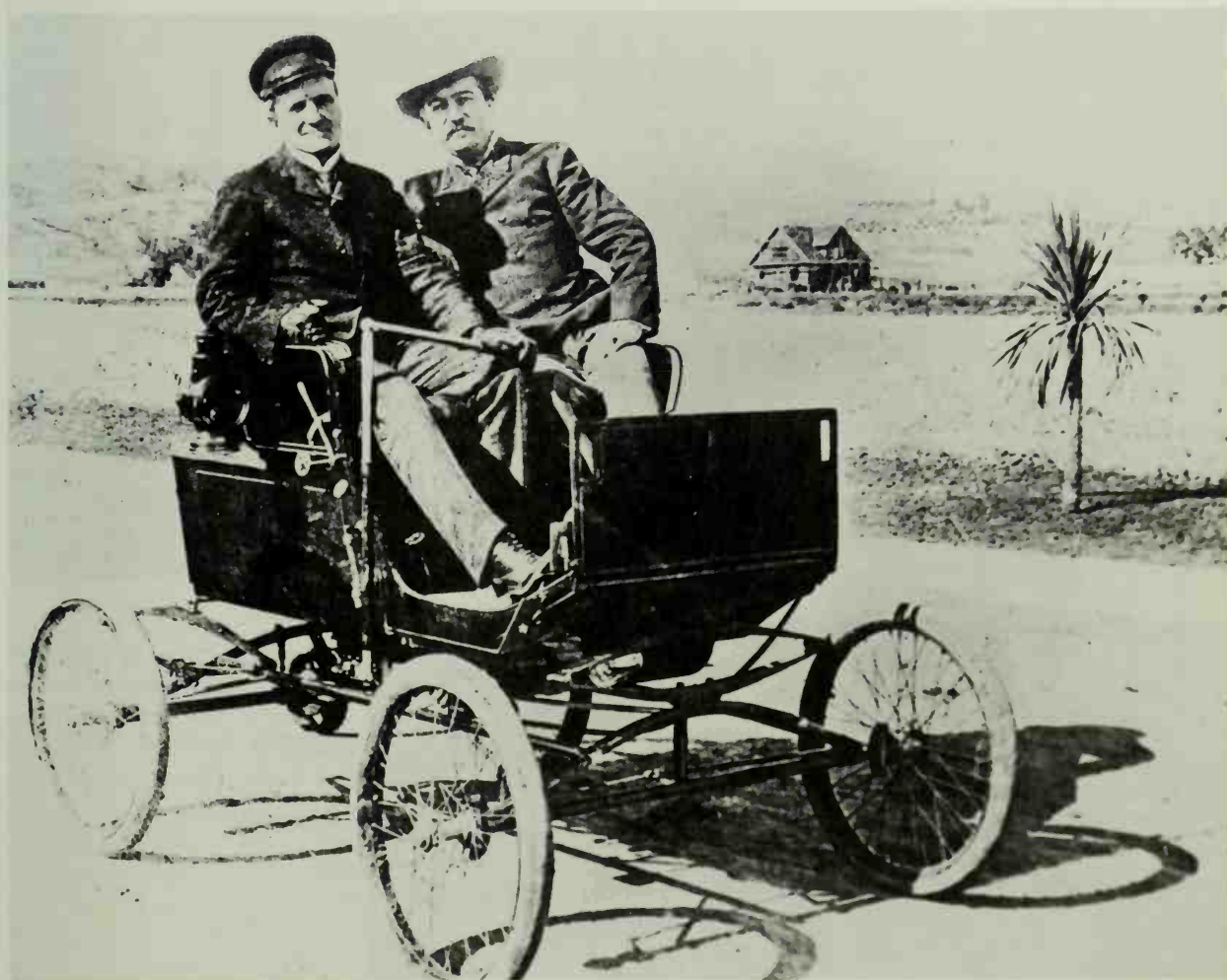
The Sherman Library

Relatively new (it began in 1965) and of modest proportions (at present about 15,000 books and pamphlets; some 300,000 papers and documents), the Sherman Library is perhaps not very widely known outside its immediate environs. It is, in fact, part of the Sherman Library and Gardens complex, which takes in a city block fronting the Coast Highway in Corona del Mar. The library itself occupies one corner of the property, with the balance given over to a botanical garden and, near the center of the block, a multi-purpose facility for holding meetings, lectures, musical events, and so forth. The Library and Gardens were established for public benefit by the Sherman Foundation, under the leadership of its principal founder and benefactor, Arnold D. Haskell (1895-1977). Hence the library's facilities are available to anyone who has need to use them. It is, however, a research library rather than a circulating library.

Probably the first thing to strike a newcomer to the Sherman Library is that the building it occupies does not look much like a library. And for good reason: before housing the library the building served as an office, and before that as a home. Topsy-like, the building "just grewed," with each successive owner-occupant making his own addition, though using care to relate that addition to the already existing structure. The original section, a tiny (360 square feet) adobe house, was built in 1940 by a young couple who had never built anything before in their lives. They designed and built it with their own hands, and although they could not have known it at the time, their little adobe house was to set the general architectural style for all that would follow, ultimately, over the entire block. After the birth of a daughter, the young couple added a bedroom to the house. Then, a few years later, they sold the place, and the new owners, in need of more space, added another bedroom. In 1955, these people in turn sold

William O. Hendricks is director of the Sherman Library.

*M. H. Sherman at the tiller,
with Sheriff William A. Hammel, on
Hollywood Boulevard shortly after
the turn of this century.*



the property, at which time the house was remodeled into offices and a new 1,000-square-foot wing added. This was the building the library began with in 1965. But as the library's holdings grew, space proved insufficient, and in 1974 a new addition was made, nearly tripling the previous square footage. The new section consists of two floors; however, in order to

relate it architecturally to the older sections, one floor is below ground. The lower floor houses archival materials (documents, papers, maps, photographs) and some of the more fragile or lesser used publications, while the upper floor contains the bulk of the books and pamphlets and the city-directory collection, plus the offices of the librarian and the director.



The little adobe house that set the architectural style for the Sherman Library and Gardens, as it appeared in 1940 (above) and (opposite) as it appears today.

The old office-building wing contains the card catalogs, the main reading room, and the desk of the third member of our library staff. The second bedroom of the former house is now our microfilm room, the first bedroom is a special reading room, and the original house itself, which faces onto the gardens, is an exhibit room.

The holdings of the Sherman Library pertain to the history of the Pacific Southwest, a region we define to include California, Arizona, certain adjacent portions of Nevada, plus the area around the upper end of the Gulf of California and northern Baja California, Mexico. To some extent the Hawaiian Islands are also included, although not so much in and of themselves as in their relationship to the mainland. While the holdings contain a number of standard works on the Indians and on the older historical background of this region, the major emphasis falls on the period after the mid-nineteenth century — the period that has seen the tremendous transformation of this region. For it is this very transformation that furnishes the central focus of our library, and in particular with respect to land use. Few published items among the library's holdings are extremely rare and valuable, and therefore worthy of being singled out for mention. Instead, the collection is generally utilitarian in nature, and designed to fit with and augment the archival holdings.

Since both the indirect cause of the library's existence as well as the core of the library's archival holdings stem from our connection with the man for whom we are named, perhaps a few words about him might not be out of place. Trained as a school teacher, Moses Hazeltine Sherman left the Vermont-New York border area, where he was born and reared, and came West as a young man twenty years of age. He lived in Arizona Territory from 1874 to 1890. After first settling in Prescott — where he taught school, then became superintendent of public instruction for the Territory, and later adjutant

general — he moved to the Salt River Valley at the beginning of the 1880s and became one of the prominent early developers of the Phoenix area. Among other things, he was involved in the construction of the Arizona Canal, which opened the Salt River Valley to large-scale irrigated agriculture; co-founded and became the first president of the Valley Bank of Phoenix; and built the local street railway system (initially horse-drawn but afterward electrified). He acquired a good deal of land in and around Phoenix and helped to get the capital transferred there, he and an associate donating the property upon which the state capitol now stands.

In 1890, Sherman moved to California, where he was to center his activities until his death in 1932. He had become a founding stockholder and director of the recently organized, Los Angeles-based National Bank of California. But more importantly, he and his brother-in-law, E.P. Clark, proceeded to establish the Los Angeles electric street railway system, constructed Southern California's first electric interurban railway (Los Angeles to Pasadena), and through their Los Angeles Pacific Electric railway lines were largely responsible for development during that era of the area west of Los Angeles to the sea. In addition to numerous lesser land holdings, Sherman was one of the key members of local syndicates which, at the beginning of this century, developed the Hollywood area, bought and subdivided 47,500 acres of the San Fernando Valley (where Sherman Oaks and Sherman Way are named for him), purchased the 27,000-acre Tejon Ranch, and acquired over 840,000 acres of land on the Mexican portion of the Colorado River Delta, opposite the Imperial Valley (in whose early development he was also involved). Sherman served on the board of water commissioners at the time Los Angeles began its fateful search for outside sources of water; and, at the end of World War I, helped to organize and later became president of the Los Angeles Steamship Company, formed in large part to

promote the growth of Los Angeles Harbor. In short, although not too commonly known today, Sherman was very much a part of the remarkable development of the Pacific Southwest that occurred during his time.

A long-time personal assistant to Sherman, as well as one of his principal heirs and the executor of his

estate, Arnold Haskell preserved over the years many of the papers of Sherman's and his associates' business activities. From examining the papers we have, however, it is apparent that a great many others have been lost. Still, those that remain number about 250,000 items — composed of business correspondence, personal letters, contracts and agreements,



stock shares and bonds of various old companies, office records, receipts, cancelled checks, and so on. Some of the collection is of considerable historical research value, some of it less so, and some of it of little significance, being merely the records of routine office operations. In general, the papers tend to be more important from an informational than from, say, an autograph collector's point of view, since many of them are copies rather than originals. Sherman's letters, for instance, of which we have over 25,000 are mostly press-book (transfer) copies. Many other letters are unsigned office copies. And, unfortunately, the collection is not nearly as rich as it should be in letters received, mainly, it seems, because of losses, but also because Sherman was an inveterate letter forwarder, frequently noting in his correspondence: "Enclosed you will find a letter received from. . . ." Fairly well represented in the collection, however, especially in light of the overall scarcity of such items, are two of Sherman's closest associates, General Harrison Gray Otis and Harry Chandler. Items from a number of prominent railroad men, bankers, attorneys, and businessmen are also to be found. And among the papers dealing with Baja California (and to a lesser extent Sonora) there are documents and letters from a half-dozen or so Mexican presidents of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and from a number of other prominent Mexican figures of the same era.

Since the library started we have been fortunate to receive as gifts many worthwhile additions to our holdings, both of printed items and of archival materials. Usually, of course, donations amount to a few items at a time, though these certainly mount up in the aggregate. Occasionally, however, we have received fairly sizeable gifts. One of our most important acquisitions was the papers of the Brant family. Otto F. Brant, another of Sherman's close associates, was a founder and for many years the general manager of Title Insurance and Trust Company. Hence,

the papers, numbering about 30,000 items and mainly concerning land development operations, fall directly within our major focus of interest. Our most recent major archival acquisition was a sizeable body of material relating to the Santa Ana Valley Irrigation Company, which was formed in 1877, only recently went out of business, and during the interval played an important role in Orange County history. And from the late Dr. Horace Parker, owner of the Paisano Press and a keen student of the Southern California brush country and deserts, we received his personal library containing some 2,700 published items. His wife, LaVerne, also donated to us twenty-one watercolors of little chapels on Indian reservations in the Southern California backcountry which she painted in 1953-54. Unusual and charming, these paintings are currently on display in our exhibit room. We have only a handful of other paintings — for example, two of Santa Monica in the 1890s and two of Redondo Beach scenes in the 1920s — and these were also given to us. Part of our microfilm collection (which totals about 20,000 rolls) was donated to us and part of it purchased. It consists mainly of runs of old newspapers, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, *Calexico Chronicle*, *Arizona Sentinel*, and *Blythe Herald*, but also of some 200-odd Master's theses and doctoral dissertations dealing with our area of interest.

Because most of the Foundation's funds went into land acquisition, building costs, and the general operating expenses of initiating the Library and Gardens, we now find ourselves no longer self-supporting. Nevertheless, with an active fund-raising advisory board, a dynamic group of volunteers, and a growing and very supportive "Friends" organization, we remain both hopeful and optimistic about our future.

All of the photographs are courtesy of the author and the Sherman Library.

Book Reviews

Douglas Tilden: Portrait of a Deaf Sculptor

By Mildred Albronda (Silver Spring, Md.: T.J. Publishers Inc., 1980. 112 pp. \$10.95.)

Reviewed by Waverly Lowell, California Historical Society Library.

In 1899, T. H. d'Estrella wrote that the name of his friend Douglas Tilden "is so often mentioned in the different papers that it has become quite a household word to the art world as well as to the deaf." Tilden (1860-1935), the first California-born sculptor to receive international recognition, is the subject of a long overdue biography by art historian Mildred Albronda.

The value of this book is that it documents equally the man and his times. He was friends with politicians, architects and writers including James Duval Phelan, Willis Polk and Jack London. As an artist, a Californian and a deaf man, Tilden developed his aesthetic sense concurrently with the growth of the American Renaissance. Tilden was eloquent in images as he could not be in the spoken word. Inspired by the ideals of his time and the spacious grandeur of his native state, he left California a legacy of monumental city sculpture unequalled in the West.

Born in Chico in 1860, Tilden lost his speech and hearing from scarlet fever at the age of six. He received his education at the California Institution for the Education and Care of the Indigent Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (now the California School for the Deaf, Berkeley), where he taught after graduating in 1879. After eight years, he left Berkeley to study and work in Paris. His piece, "The Tired Boxer," was awarded an honorable mention in the Paris Salon of 1890. At that time, no American sculptor had won higher recognition. Returning to San Francisco in 1894, Tilden was appointed the first Professor of Sculpture at the Mark Hopkins Institute of Art.

Throughout his life, Tilden was committed to furthering the cause of the deaf. Instrumental in founding the California Association of the Deaf, Tilden wrote and spoke to both hearing and deaf audiences about the power of art in educating the deaf and the importance of providing deaf people with the same opportunities as the hearing. A biography of Tilden is an introduction to the Social History of the deaf. Following World War I, due to the loss of patronage, the decline of classicism and the advent of

the modern aesthetic, Tilden could no longer support himself by his art. He applied to the School for the Deaf for a position teaching art but, tragically, was turned down because the oral method was in vogue and deaf teachers were not being hired.

Albronda has stated that this portrait of Douglas Tilden was intended as an inspiration to deaf people. Committed to Tilden's ideal of education through art, Albronda has worked with the Docents for the Deaf and lectured extensively on California deaf artists. A result of five years of intensive research, this straightforward, well documented account of Tilden's life provides an important reference source in the fields of California Art History and the History of the Deaf. Although inspiring, this aptly titled portrait does not offer sufficient description of Tilden's emotional and psychological conflicts. Considered a genius by some, Tilden was given to bouts of temper which resulted in severe disagreements with friends and associates. He was married in 1896 to Elizabeth Delano Cole, was father to a daughter and an invalid son and was divorced in 1924. His most productive artistic period was between 1889 and 1912. After this time, Tilden suffered from increasing financial and personal difficulties. Intrigued by the subject, the reader is left with many unanswered questions.

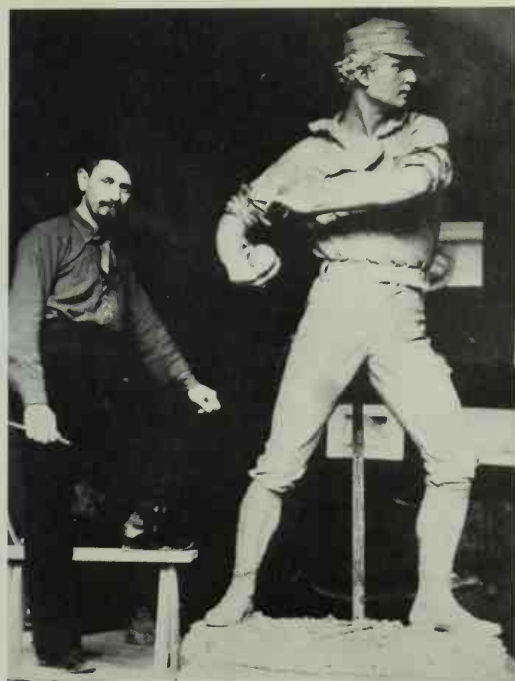
Equally unsatisfying is the quality of the photographic reproductions. While the images are excellent, the choice of brown ink significantly reduces contrast and detail, resulting in photographs which are muddy and lifeless. In addition, the placement of the portfolio at the end of the volume diminishes its potential to complement the text. Nonetheless, this is a joyous and valuable book. An outstanding artist, Douglas Tilden remains an important historical figure and we should be grateful to Albronda for returning him to us.

The San Francisco Irish 1848-1880.

By R. A. Burchell. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 226 pp. \$16.95.)

Reviewed by Albert Shumate, M.D., President Emeritus, California Historical Society.

The author of this scholarly book is a lecturer in American History and Institutions at the University of Manchester,



*Tilden and "The Baseball Player"
(Bronze) now located in San Francisco's
Golden Gate Park. The photograph was
taken at Tilden's Paris studio, c. 1888.*

*Douglas Tilden visiting Henry Stewart Fonda's
painting class at the Mark Hopkins Art Institute,
c. 1898. Tilden is standing next to the painting
with his hand in his pocket.*



England. It first appeared to the reviewer that it was indeed singular for a historian in far-away Manchester, and apparently not Irish, to presume to write a history of the San Francisco Irish. However, Burchell has performed a masterly job.

There are two well-known books published in the past which have dealt with the Irish in California. Father Hugh Quigley's *The Irish Race in California*, which was published in 1878 and contains a great deal of valuable information, is not a scholarly book. In 1942 Judge Thomas F. Pendergast's *Forgotten Pioneers* appeared. As its title indicates, it recalls the lives of many of the prominent Irishmen of California. More recently, in 1974, the Irish Literary and Historical Society of San Francisco published a group of essays under the title *The San Francisco Irish*. Edited by Dr. James P. Walsh of San Jose State University, it is composed almost entirely of articles dealing with colorful Irishmen of San Francisco. In contrast, Burchell's study concerns itself with the Irish population as a whole.

The amount of research done by the author is prodigious. The importance of the Irish in San Francisco in the last century is shown by numerous tables. The foreign-born population of San Francisco in 1880 was 73,719 compared to only 75,754 native born. In the same year there were 30,721 first-generation Irish, 13.1% of the population, and 43,000 second-generation. Of the San Francisco work force 27% were Irish. In the San Francisco wards in 1880, the Irish comprised 33.4%, distributed in many sections of the city. The South of Market district had the largest percentage of Irish, 53.1%. In the 12th Ward, the more prosperous Western Addition, the Irish comprised 49.1% of the population. This latter figure indicated the advancement of the Irish in status.

Irish societies were numerous and varied. The author states that they gave "evidence of the exuberance and vitality of the Irish." Some of the organizations forwarded funds to Ireland — to the Fenians and to the families of Irish political prisoners.

The importance of the Irish in the political life of San Francisco has long been recognized. Burchell confirms this in his meticulous manner. Irish voters accounted for 27% of the city's total, "the most significant of the foreign-born voters of the city." During the period discussed, four United States Senators were Irish: David Broderick, Eugene Casserly, John Conness, and James Fair. Most of the Irish were Democrats. Although in the 1870's many

joined the powerful but short-lived Workingmen's Party, they returned in the 1880's to the Democratic Party, which was effectively reorganized by the Irish-born "Boss" Chris Buckley.

There are a few statements by the author of this work that one might question. One is that South Park was "developed in 1852." George Gordon did start acquiring vacant land for his South Park development as early as 1852; however, building did not start until 1854, and it opened in January 1855. Also, Burchell writes that capitalists "thought of founding an association to promote general immigration, but did not succeed." They did more than just think. In 1855 the Pacific Emigrant Society was formed with Governor John Bigler as its president, while I. C. Woods of the Adams Express was vice-president. Later in the same year the Immigration Association was established. This latter Association had a committee which included at least three Irishmen, Eugene Casserly, Joseph A. Donohoe, and John Sullivan. But these are omissions of minor importance. If there is a weakness in this study, it is a lack of appreciation of the importance of the Catholic Church in the lives of the majority of the San Francisco Irish.

Burchell concludes that the city gave the Irish a relatively friendly environment. San Francisco's not having a "settled society" gave them opportunities for economic and social advancement not found in the East. They were "by contrast with that elsewhere comparatively successful and fortunate."

Burchell's book is welcome, as there are many recent studies of the Chinese and Blacks in California, but little published about probably the most important ethnic group in numbers and in political influence in San Francisco from the 1850's to the 1950's.

The San Francisco Irish is highly recommended as a scholarly, important study of the Irish in San Francisco.

The photographs are from the CHS Library.

In Memoriam

In the passing of CARL SCHAEFER DENTZEL, on August 21, 1980, Los Angeles lost one of its most valued citizens. Dr. Dentzel, an energetic, enthusiastic worker in the field of historic preservation, worked to strengthen a better understanding and appreciation of the arts and culture of the Indo-American and of the American Southwest.

He devoted 25 years to the Directorship of the Southwest Museum, in Highland Park, Los Angeles, California. Founded in 1907, it was an outgrowth of the Southwest Society of Archaeological Institute of America. Under his able guidance and administration, the Museum's exhibits and library were expanded to include all Indians of North, South and Central America, and the Hispanic Southwest.

As a member of the California Heritage Preservation Commission he served as special representative on the Commission of the Californias.

Founder of the Cultural Heritage Board of the City of Los Angeles, he served continuously, 1968-1980, as president of that organization.

In recognition of his many contributions and achievements, a doctoral degree in the Humanities was conferred upon Carl Dentzel by Occidental College.

As a long-time member, he took great pride in the honor of being a Fellow of the California Historical Society.

Dr. Dentzel held many offices in various organizations and societies. Those that were especially dear to his heart were: President of the Zamorano Club, Sheriff of the Westerners (Los Angeles Corral), the Western Museum Conference of the American Associations of Museums and the Museum Alliance of the Los Angeles County Museum of Natural History.

An outstanding speaker, he appeared before numerous groups and societies, prodding his listeners to become more observant of the contributions of the ethnic groups in the Southland and of their rich heritage. At times, his comments were controversial and challenging in his earnestness to emphasize the cultural relationships to his listeners of the peoples of the Western hemisphere. A talented writer, he edited and annotated numerous publications dealing with the history of Mexico, Central and South America, and especially on artists of the American Southwest and Pacific.

Dentzel was entertained and, entertained in return, various Governors of Mexico and Baja California, and was an active member of the Commission of the Californias.

In 1979, he had an audience with the Emperor of Japan and received a special invitation to visit the Emperor's



private museum, which followed his earlier exchange with Japan, of Indian artifacts from the Southwest Museum.

His last two writing efforts demonstrate the wide range of his interests and knowledge: a foreword to, "Taos: a Painter's Dream," by Patricia J. Broder, published by the New York Graphic Society, October, 1980, and a well researched, colorful article for the Bicentennial edition of the *Los Angeles Times*, August 31, 1980, entitled: "A Heritage Worth Considering."

Born in 1913, Carl Dentzel later gave the name Northridge to the community in which he resided, sharing his love of books, art and music, with his beloved wife, Elisabeth Waldo Dentzel, a talented and recognized violinist and ethno-musicologist, and their two sons, Dana and Paul. He leaves, also, a brother, William H. Dentzel, of Santa Barbara.

Dr. Dentzel's enormous energy and enthusiasm given to promote a better understanding and appreciation of the cultures of our own American Southwest was, indeed, a rare gift.

We treasure the friendship we were privileged to share these many years. In the coming years, we hope, an awareness of the many gifts Carl Dentzel left his City and his State will be recognized.

Anna Marie and Everett G. Hager

California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent publications, including reprints or revised editions, which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

- Acuna, Rodolfo. *Occupied America: A History of Chicanos*. Second edition. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 437 pp.
- Adams, Ansel. *The Camera*. New York: New York Graphic Society, 1980. \$16.50.
- Anderson, E. Frederick. *The Development of Leadership and Organization Building in the Black Community of Los Angeles from 1900 through World War II*. Saratoga: Century Twenty-One, 1980. Publisher, P. O. Box 8, Saratoga, 95070. \$12.00.
- Anderson, Martha. *Black Pioneers of the Northwest (1800-1918)*. Portland: Pioneer Press, 1980. 270 pp. Publisher, 4526 N.E. 14th Street, Portland, Oregon 97208. \$29.95.
- Beemer, Eleanor. *My Luiseno Neighbors: Excerpts from a Journal Kept in Pauma Valley, Northern San Diego County, 1934 to 1974*. Ramona: Acoma Books, 1980. 91 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 4, Ramona, 92065. \$9.95.
- Bente, Vance, G. *The Property for Sale: Excavations at CA-Nap-518H, Soscol House*. Sacramento: Dept. of Transportation, 1980. 194 pp. Publisher, Office of Environmental Planning, California Dept. of Transportation, 1120 N. St., Sacramento 95814. \$10.00.
- Birmingham, Stephen. *California Rich*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1980. \$13.95.
- Boyd, William Harland. *Kern County Tall Tales*. Bakersfield: Kern County Historical Society, 1980. Publisher, P. O. Box 141, Bakersfield, 93302. \$5.00.

- Brady, Elizabeth P. *Beneath the Lake: The Story of Old Kernville*. Kernville: Kern River Valley Historical Society, 1979. 54 pp. \$6.95.
- Butler, Lewis H., et al. *Medical Life on the Western Frontier: The Competitive Impact of Prepaid Medical Care Plans in California*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1980. 19 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$3.50.
- Cassady, Carolyn. *Heart Beat: My Life with Jack and Neal*. Second edition. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Co. 100 pp. Publisher, 833 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94710. \$4.00 (paper).
- Champlin, Charles. *The Movies Grow Up, 1950-1980*. Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press/Swallow, 1980. 300 pp. \$19.95, cloth; \$10.00 (paper).
- Clappe, Louise. *The Shirley Letters*. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980. 224 pp. \$4.95 (paper).
- Clark, Donald T. *Some Santa Cruz County Place Names: An Index to Topographic Sheets Concerning Santa Cruz County*. Santa Cruz: University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz 1980. 26 pp.
- Cole, Susan D. *Richmond—Windows to the Past*. Richmond: Wildcat Canyon Books, 1980. 96 pp. Publisher, 5874 McBryde Ave., Richmond, 94805. \$6.95.
- Collins, Keith E. *Black Los Angeles: The Maturing of the Ghetto, 1940-1950*. Saratoga: Century Twenty-One, 1980. Publisher, P. O. Box 8, Saratoga, 95070. \$11.00.
- Delehanty, Randolph. *San Francisco: Walks and Tours in the Golden Gate City*. New York: Dial Press, 1980. \$9.95.
- De Witt, Howard. *Violence in the Fields: California Filipino Farm Labor Unionization During the Great Depression*. Saratoga: Century Twenty-One, 1980. Publisher, P. O. Box 8, Saratoga, 95070. \$9.00.
- Gebhard, David. *A Guide to Architecture in Los Angeles and Southern California*. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980. 600 pp. \$11.95 (paper).

- Gebhard, David. *Schindler*. Revised edition. Layton, Utah: Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1980. 240 pp. \$9.95 (paper).
- Gifford, Barry. *As Ever: The Collected Correspondence of Allen Ginsberg & Neal Cassady*. Berkeley: Creative Arts Book Co. 275 pp. Publisher, 833 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94710. \$15.00 (cloth); \$5.95 (paper).
- Gill, Brendan. *The Dream Come True: Great Houses of Los Angeles*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. \$40.00; \$100.00 (limited edition).
- Glassow, Michael A. *Prehistoric Agricultural Development in the Northern Southwest. A Study in Changing Patterns of Land Use*. Socorro, N.M.: Ballena Press, 1980. 151 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 1366, Socorro, N.M. 87801. \$8.95.
- Hale, Sharron Lee. *A Tribute to Yesterday: The History of Carmel*. Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1980. 170 pp. Publisher, 1111 Pacific Avenue, Santa Cruz, 95060. \$25.00.
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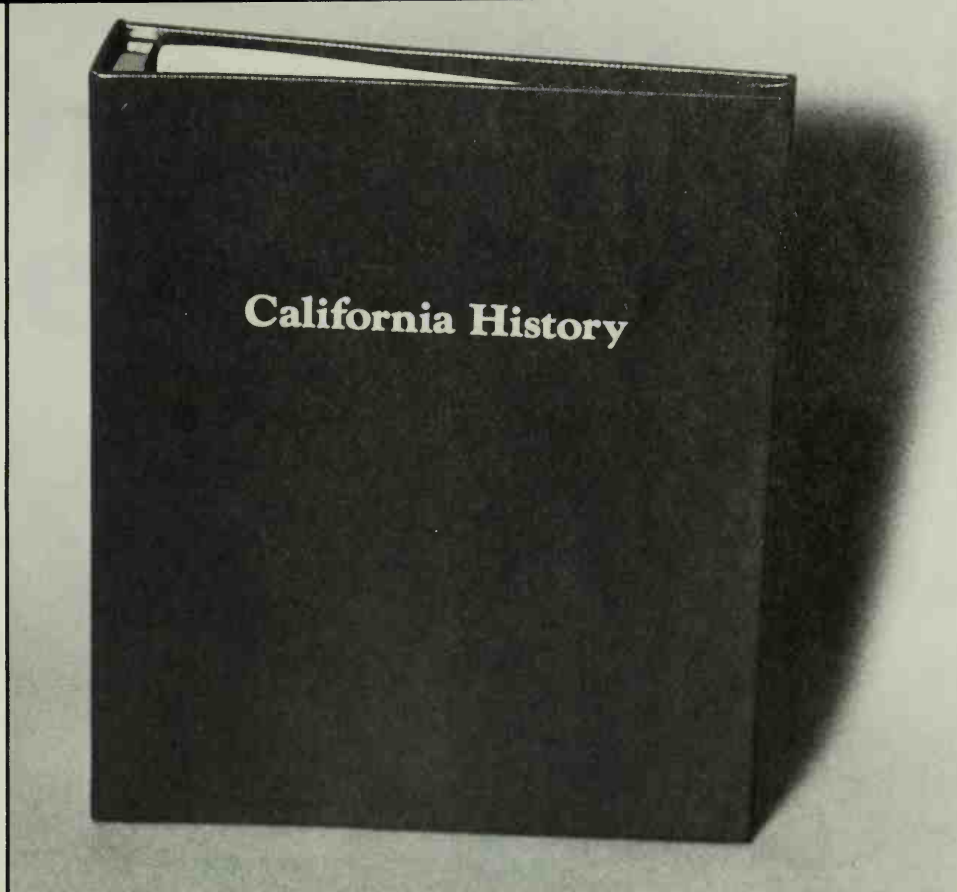
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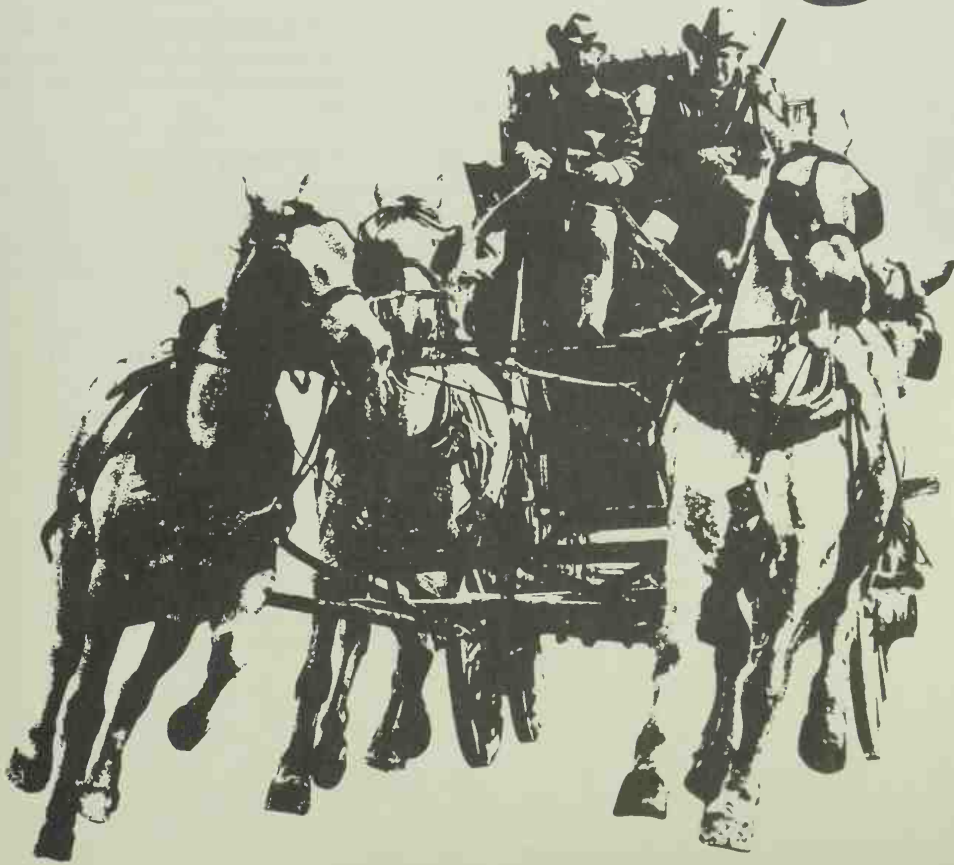
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